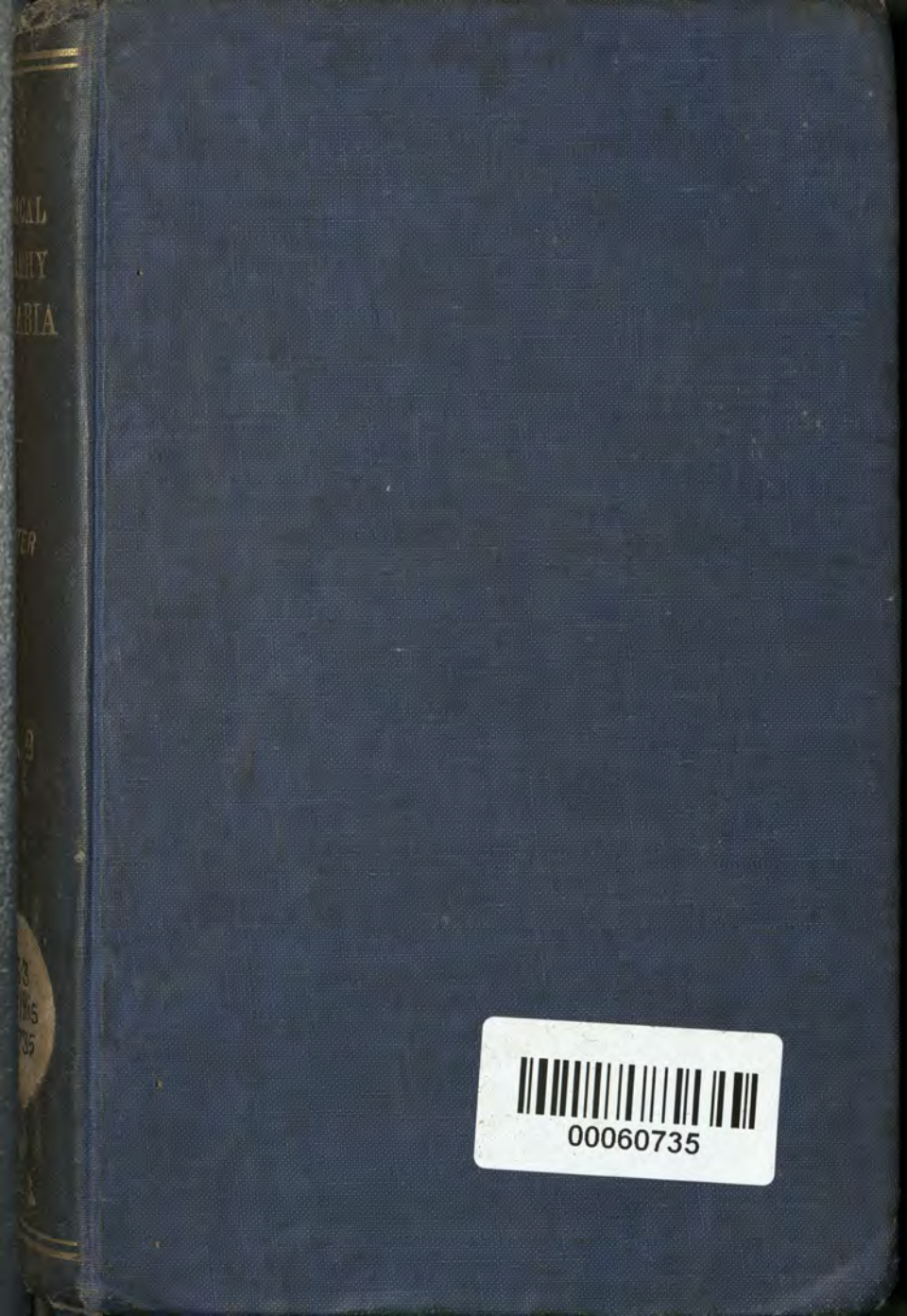
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THE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ARABIA;

OR,

THE PATRIARCHAL EVIDENCES OF REVEALED RELIGION.

A MEMOIR,

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE MAPS;

AND

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING TRANSLATIONS, WITH AN ALPHABET AND GLOSSARY, OF

THE HAMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS

RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN HADRAMAUT.

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BY

THE REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D.

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AND RECTOR OF STISTED, ESSEX:

AUTHOR OF "MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED."

They call their lands after their own names. — *Psalm* xlix. 11.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:

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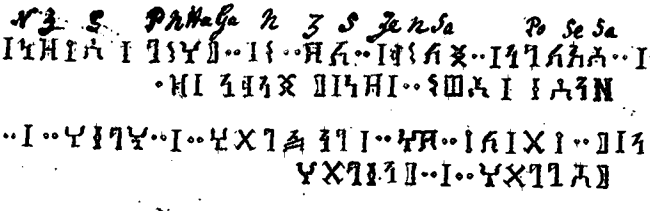
Greek Ethiopic letters



Over us presided kings far removed from baseness,
And stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men:
And they noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heuer, good judgments, written in a book, to be kept:
And we believed in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

Adite inscription, engraven on the rock at Hisn Ghorab.

Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book!
That they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever!
For I know that my Redeemer liveth; and that He shall stand, at the latter day, upon the earth:
And though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet, in my flesh, shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.

Job.

London:
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THE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ARABIA.

PART I.—*continued.*

SECTION V.

SETTLEMENTS OF ESAU.

"AND God said unto Abraham, as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be. And I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her. Yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of *nations: kings of peoples* shall be of her."*

This promise to Abraham, in behalf of Sarah and her posterity, besides its grand spiritual benediction, contains the pledge of great and multiplied temporal blessings. Its wording plainly

* Gen. xvii. 15, 16. מלכי עמים. The plural number here, assuredly, is not insignificant.

implies, not only that in Sarah were "all the families of the earth to be blessed," but that she should herself become the mother of divers nations, and the ancestor of sundry kings. Jacob having become sole heir to its spiritual fulfilment, its extended temporal accomplishment will naturally be sought in the family of Isaac's first-born Esau. Accordingly, the Mosaic catalogue of the posterity of Esau comprizes a list of dukes or emirs, the founders of diverse Arab tribes, rivalling in number, and, as will presently be seen, in power, the numerous nations sprung from Hagar, and from Keturah. I have already proved at large, that the Ishmaelites or Hagarenes, and the Ketureans, dwelt mingled with each other, over almost every quarter of the Arabian peninsula. It remains now to show, that the Edomites, or the descendants of Esau, can, with equal clearness, be traced every where, throughout Arabia, intermingled with both the other Abrahamic stocks. I speak of Edom and the Edomites, not in the limited, but in the largest acceptation of the name; as including all the tribes from Esau, enumerated in the Mosaic account of his posterity. This ample account happily throws light, at every step, on our researches.

"Now these are the generations of Esau, WHO IS EDOM." Esau took his wives of the daughters

of Canaan: Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; and Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite; and Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter, the sister of Nebajoth. And Adah bare to Esau, Eliphaz; and Bashemath bare Reuel; and Aholibamah bare Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah. These are the sons of Esau, which were born unto him in the land of Canaan. And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance which he had got in the land of Canaan, and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob. For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them, because of their cattle. Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir. ESAU IS EDOM.

And these are the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites, in Mount Seir:

These are the names of Esau's sons:

Eliphaz, the son of Adah, the wife of Esau:

Reuel, the son of Bashemath, the wife of Esau.

And the sons of Eliphaz were

Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz,

Amalek:

these were the sons of Adah, Esau's wife.

And these are the sons of Reuel:

Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah:

these were the sons of Bashemath, Esau's wife.*

And these were the sons of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife; and she bare to Esau,

Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.

These were dukes of the sons of Esau:

the sons of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau:

Duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke Korah, duke Gatam, and duke Amalek.

These are the dukes, that came of Eliphaz, in the land of Edom:

these were the sons of Adah.

And these are the sons of Reuel, Esau's son:

Duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah.

* "Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth." (Gen. xxxvi. 3.) Here we have the indissoluble link, which made the Nabatheans and Edomites *one* people. As such they are described by Strabo: Ναβαταῖοι εἰσιν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι. And, therefore, doubtless it is, that Moses notices the fact, that Bashemath was the daughter of Nebaioth. How every circumstance of the sacred narrative, if but duly attended to, brings to light fresh marks of the beautiful accuracy of Scripture.

These are the dukes that came of Reuel, in the land of Edom:
these are the sons of Bashemath, Esau's wife.
And these are the sons of Aholibamah, Esau's wife:
Duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah:
these were the dukes that came of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife.
These are the sons of Esau, WHO IS EDOM: and these are their dukes.*

To the cursory glance of profane curiosity, or the captious fastidiousness of indolent criticism, this passage may wear the aspect of vain, or, at best, of needless, repetition. But, on the mind of the thoughtful student of Scripture, who has learnt, by intimate converse with the sacred writers, to seek a reason for every variation, and a value in every word; the impression, even at first sight, will be widely different. To readers of this class it will at once occur, that, by this minute and reiterated exhibition of the sons and families of Esau (a minuteness and reiteration so strongly contrasted with the short and simple enumerations of the posterity of Hagar and Keturah), Moses, or the Spirit of Jehovah speaking by the pen of Moses, may have intended to set forth the magnitude of the fulfil-

* Gen. xxxvi.

ment of that part of the divine promise and blessing pronounced on Sarah: "She shall be a mother of *nations: kings of peoples* shall be of her." *

The Mosaic genealogy of the house of Esau, contemplated in this aspect, in fact will be found to contain any thing but mere repetition. For its first part enumerates the Edomite patriarchs, *individually:* while its second represents them, as the founders and chiefs of potent *tribes* or *nations.* †

This preliminary view may prepare the reader to find the settlements of Esau, as they will be found, coextensive with those of Keturah, and of Ishmael himself: a result which will serve to correct the very erroneous notions, which have long prevailed among the learned, as though the Edomite tribes were limited to the neighbourhood of Mount Seir ‡; and, by so doing, will throw fresh,

* Gen. xvii. 16. † Gen. xxxvi. 40.

‡ The fertility of this primitive seat of Esau, recently brought to light by Professor Robinson, bears unexpected witness to the fulfilment of his blessing. "The character of these mountains is quite different from those on the west of the 'Arabah. The latter, which seemed to be not more than two thirds as high, are wholly desert and sterile; while these on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs, and occasional trees. The Wadys, too, are full of trees, and shrubs, and flowers; while the eastern, and higher parts, are extensively cultivated, and yield good crops. The general appearance of the soil is not unlike that around Hebron; though the face of the country is very different. It is, indeed, the region of which Isaac said to his son Esau: 'Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above.' Gen. xxvii. 39."—Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 551, 552.

and most important, light, upon the whole Abrahamic colonization of the Arabian peninsula.

Preparatory, however, to the restoration of this great nation, or rather of this great multitude of nations, to their true scriptural limits, there arises a question of no small moment: namely, whether the race of Esau was known only by the paternal appellative of Edomites, or Idumeans; or whether it was distinguished by any other generic name. In the parallel examples of Ishmael and Keturah, we have seen it undeniably established, that the various tribes descended, respectively, from them, were collectively designated after the mother of each race, by the respective matronymics, Hagarenes, and Ketureans. The analogy of these kindred precedents fully justifies the presumption, antecedently to proof, that a similar national distinction was not unlikely to obtain among the posterity of Esau. And this consideration brings us, at once, to a much controverted question, the origin of the name of *Saracens;* in aftertimes, the common national appellative for the various tribes of Arabia.

The natural and popular derivation of this celebrated name, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, has been alternately assailed, by the objections of orthodox criticism, and by the scoffs of

sceptical unbelief. Against both, I shall venture to hold with the prejudiced vulgar; and hope to demonstrate, that, in this, as in very many and important instances beside, the exploded popular belief is the only right and true one; that the Hagarenes are not more indubitably denominated from Hagar, nor the Ketureans from Keturah, than are the Saracens from Sarah, as the mother of the race. The question has been clouded, hitherto, by one capital mistake. The Saracens, properly so called, have been erroneously confounded with the Ishmaelites; the descendants, not of Sarah, but of Hagar, and generically distinguished, accordingly, by their own mother's name. But the Edomites, and they alone of all the Arab tribes, were the lineal posterity of Sarah. If, therefore, as the irrefragable precedents just noticed authorize us, for the present, to assume, the term Saracens be a generic matronymic from Sarah *, . . . the families of Esau, and these only, were entitled, originally, to this national appellation. Due attention to this point, will both materially aid the argument in proof of the scriptural origin of

* An example in point, in support of this derivation, is to be found in Omân: where the Jews of Sohar are named after their first maternal ancestor. "The Arabs call them 'Vad Ṣarah,' the 'Children of Sarah.'" —Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 231.

the proper-name, Saracens, and greatly facilitate research for the recovery of the far-spread tribes from Esau.

THE SARACENS.

"The name (observes Mr. Gibbon), used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, sense, has been derived, ridiculously, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham; obscurely, from the village of *Saraka;* more plausibly, from the Arabic words, which signify a *thievish* character, or *oriental* situation. Yet, the last and most popular of these etymologies, is refuted by Ptolemy, who expressly remarks the western and southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot, therefore, allude to any *national* character; and, since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language." *

* The information and inferences compressed into his note, Mr. Gibbon borrows chiefly from Pocock (Spec. pp. 33—35.); and, I am sorry to add, in this instance, is able to shield his scepticism under the shelter of a great name: "Explosa est merito eorum sententia (is the language of the author of the specimen), qui a *Sarah* nomen traxisse autumant." When a sentence like this is pronounced *ex cathedra*, we are entitled, surely, to know its grounds. It is my fortune to concur in the exploded opinion: but I shall give (what neither Dr. Pocock, nor Mr. Gibbon, has given) my reasons for doing so.

The tone of this insidious note betrays the mind of the writer. The phrase, "derived, *ridiculously*, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham," breathes, as usual, that spirit of restless and rancorous hostility, with which the author of the "Decline and Fall" has been pleased to pursue every thing connected, in the remotest degree, with the credit, or credibility, of revealed religion. In the matter of his opinion, however, he is, in this instance, countenanced, by the consenting opinions of some Christian scholars. "Authors (observes the learned Asseman) are not agreed, as to the derivation of the name, Saracens. Some refer this name to Sarah, the wife of the patriarch Abraham. But none of the Arabs claim descent from Sarah, but from Hagar and Ishmael. Neither will *Saracen* come from *Sarah*, but *Sarœan* or *Sarite*. But the Saritæ, an Arab people whom Ptolemy places in Arabia Felix, are named, not after Sarah, but from Sarech [the Saraca of Ptolemy]: the elements of the two words being altogether different." *

The etymology of the name from Sarah thus, to his own satisfaction, disposed of, the learned librarian of the Vatican proceeds to show its probable derivation from Saraca: 1. because the people of Saraca are expressly denominated Sa-

* Asseman in Raheb. Chron. Orient. p. 233.

racens, by Stephanus of Byzantium; and, 2. because this mode of denomination is in accordance with the universal Arab usage, to name, alternately, the place after its inhabitants, or the inhabitants after their place. But at length, having rightly remarked, that Ptolemy notices *two* distinct tribes of Saracens, the one, a people on the Egyptian border, the other, an inland people, behind the Nabatheans (a point on which Mr. Gibbon, with all his boasted accuracy, has been guilty of a strange oversight and mis-statement); and having, further, distinguished correctly *two* Saracas, that of Stephanus, next the Nabatheans, and that of Ptolemy, in the country of the southern Sabeans; M. Asseman ends with completely destroying the grounds of his own decision against the scriptural origin of this celebrated name, by an admission which shall be laid before the reader in his own words. "The Saraca which is placed by Ptolemy amidst the Sabeans is a different town from the Saraca of Stephanus, situated near the Nabatheans. And hence there arises a valid argument in confirmation of the statement of Stephanus. [That, namely, in which he derives the appellation Saracens from Saraca, or *vice versâ*.] For, as the Saracens, inhabitants of Arabia Felix, are so called from Saraca of the Sabeans, so the Sa-

racens of Arabia Petræa are thus denominated, from Saraca, in the neighbourhood of the Nabatheans." *

In this last quotation, our author distinctly admits, that the two Saracas gave name to the two races of Saracens. But the Saraca of Ptolemy, in Arabia Felix, was beyond question the seat of his Saritæ; as M. Asseman, in the passage first cited, has indeed himself acknowledged. Saracens and Sarites, it follows, like Hagarenes and Hagarites, are merely varying forms of the same word, according, it may be presumed, to its harder or softer pronunciation by the native tribes. † What, then, becomes of this author's first gratuitous assumption, that the two names cannot be derived from the one origin? that Sarite is, but Saracen is not, a legitimate derivative from Sarah? On his own showing, this distinction without a difference at once falls to the ground; and there we will leave it.

But the context under review contains further specimens of the loose and vague manner, in which subjects like the present have, too generally, been treated by the learned. A brief ex-

* Asseman in Raheb. Chron. Orient. p. 233.

† The pronunciation of the Bedouins is uniformly soft, that of the settled tribes hard. For examples of both kinds, the reader is referred to Niebuhr and Burckhardt, *passim*.

amination will suffice for their exposure and correction, before I address myself to the establishment of the scriptural origin of the national appellative, Saracens, against the united objections of Asseman and Gibbon. Mr. Gibbon instructs his readers (for reasons best known to himself) that, in the age of Ptolemy, "the Saracens were an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt." M. Asseman would have better informed him, that Ptolemy mentions two races of Saracens, one on the Egyptian border, the inhabitants of Saracena, another inland, south of the Scenites and Oaditæ of Arabia Deserta. The laborious Maronite, in his turn, falls into the capital errour of confounding these midland Saracens (the people of the Saraca of Stephanus, next the Nabatheans) with a third, and far-removed race, the Saracens or Saritæ of Ptolemy, inhabiting the city and district of Saraca, in the heart of Yemen. Now the inquirer, who will be at the trouble to consult Ptolemy for himself, will find, as the present writer has found, in this great geographer, *three* nations of the name, as discriminately specified, as though his information had been drawn from the ocular evidence of a Niebuhr, a Burckhardt, or a Chesney. The first of these Saracenic tribes, are the above-named inhabitants of Saracena, or the region

comprized between the chain of Mount Sinai and the border of Egypt, E. and W., and N. and S., between Mount Cassius and Munichiatis, or the Mediterranean and the desert of Tyh: the second people named Saracens, are defined with equal accuracy, as lying centrally in the north of the peninsula, or south of the Scenites and Oaditæ of Arabia Deserta, and adjacent to the Nabatheans of Arabia Petræa (these are unquestionably the Saracens of Stephanus, whose capital, Saraca, was situated immediately east of Nabathea): the third branch of the Saracens, are Ptolemy's Saritæ, the citizens of a second Saraca, far south, in the neighbourhood of Mount Climax or the Djebal, in the heart of Yemen. And thus, Mr. Gibbon's "obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt," becomes in Ptolemy a flourishing and widespread nation, occupying seats, at one and the same time, in the centre, and in the north-western and south-western angles, of the Arabian peninsula. So much for the vaunted geographical accuracy of the historian of the Roman empire!

From this exposure of Mr. Gibbon's unacquaintedness with the diffusion, in the age of Ptolemy, of the Saracenic tribes over Arabia, I return to the disputed origin of the name. That

the Saracens derived their name from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, and that the name was, properly and originally, the national appellative of Sarah's lineal descendants through Esau, the great Edomite tribes, will, it is conceived, easily and naturally follow, from the establishment of the following facts:— 1. That the midland parts of northern Arabia, in which Ptolemy and others have placed the Saracens, were familiarly known among the Jews of the first century, by the name of "the country of Sarah." 2. That the southern quarter of Judea, adjoining the Saracena of Ptolemy, and denominated Idumea from the Edomites into whose hands it had passed after the Babylonish captivity, was equally familiar to the Jewish historians, under the title of "the Mount, or Mounts of Sarah." 3. That Ptolemy's Saracena, which adjoined these mounts of Sarah, is the same with the land of Amalek, spoken of, in the Old Testament, as the primitive seat of the Amalekites, and their subordinate Edomite tribes. 4. That the classical boundaries of the Saracens, and the scriptural boundaries of the Amalekites taken in the largest sense of the name, geographically coincide; each of these national denominnations extending, along the same parallel of latitude, across the neck of the peninsula from

the Nile to the Euphrates.* 5. That the names of the sons of Esau are legibly inscribed on this whole tract of country, being preserved in the actual national denominations of the great Arab tribes, who people the neck of the peninsula at the present day (a plain proof that Amalek, significantly styled in Scripture "the first of the nations," gave name to the whole race of Esau, as we have seen Midian giving name to that of Keturah, both races being denominated from the ruling tribe). 6. That the Saracenic tribes are historically identified with the Edomites or Amalekites by the remarkable circumstance, that the Saracens of the age of Mahomet were termed Amalekites by the Greeks; who, in their ignorance of the interior of the peninsula, bestowed, upon the Mahometan invaders at large, the generic name belonging to the tribes bordering on the frontier of the eastern empire, from Egypt to the Euphrates. 7. That Sarah and Saraca, like their derivatives Saraceni and Saritæ, are one and the same name.

These collective facts I will now undertake to establish.

1. The inland districts of northern Arabia,

* "De la manière dont parle Procope, sous Justinien, de Sarazins Romains, et de Sarazins Persans, on voit le même nom embrasser ce qu'il y a d'espace entre les deux Golfes, l'Arabique et le Persique."—D'Anville, Géograph. Anc. tom. ii. p. 231.

where Ptolemy and Stephanus have placed the Saracens, were familiarly known to the Jews, under the denomination of "the country of *Sarah*."

A decisive passage, from a Jewish historian probably of the first century of our era, the author of the book entitled "The Fifth Book of Maccabees," will suffice to establish this fact. The following is the testimony of this writer:— "Now the Arabians mentioned in this book, are the Arabians who dwelled *from the country of Sarah*, as far as to Hegiaz, and the adjacent parts; and they were of great renown, and large numbers." "The country of *Sarah*," here referred to, contains, in its geographical position alone, conclusive proof of its identity with the *Saracena* of Ptolemy. But the establishment of the existence, in northern Arabia, of a region named after Sarah, and the identification of this region with the Saracena of the classic writers, are, in themselves, most important preliminaries to the proof of the scriptural origin of the name, Saracens.

2. Towards the development of this proof, we have the authority of the same Jewish writer for the further fact, that the southern parts of Judea, adjoining this "country of Sarah," or Saracena, and denominated Idumea after the Edomites who had usurped its possession, was also commonly known among the Jews under the title of "The

Mount or Mounts of Sarah." From numerous passages to this effect, I select the following as among the clearest and most circumstantial: . . .

" Now, after the days of dedication, Judas marched into the country of the Idumeans, to *the mountain Sarah.*

" And he [Hyrcanus, the son of Simeon] marched into the country of Idumea, *that is, the mountains Sarah*, and they surrendered to him."

" He [Alexander, the son of Hyrcanus] also gained possession of *the mountains of Sarah*, and the country of Ammon, and Moab, and the country of the Philistines, and all the parts which were in the hands of *the Arabians* who fought with him, even to the bounds of the desert."

" There was a man of the Jews, of the sons of certain of those who went up out of Babylon with Ezra the priest, named Antipater. . . . This man, king Alexander had made governor of the country of the Idumeans, from whence he had taken a wife; by whom he had four sons, namely, Phaselus, Herod, who reigned over Judah, Pheroras, and Josephus. Afterwards, being removed from *the mountains of Sarah*, that is, *the country of the Idumeans*, in the days of Alexander, he dwelt in the Holy House."*

* For this and the preceding extracts, the reader is referred to Dean Cotton's version of " The Five Books of Maccabees," (8vo. Oxford,

These passages prove, clearly as words and facts can prove, that the south of Judea was denominated, indifferently, "the country of Idumea," and "the mountains of Sarah." The origin of the former appellation has never been questioned; and the inference is natural, as it is obvious, that the tract in question derived both names, alike, from its Edomite possessors: that of Idumea, from their father Esau, "who is Edom;" that of Sarah, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, as the acknowledged mother of their race.

This inference will be strengthened, when, in the next place, it shall be made to appear, that the region of Idumea, otherwise named the mountains of Sarah, lay immediately adjacent to the Saracena of Ptolemy; and that this district of Saracena (whence, apparently, during the Babylonish captivity, Idumea was re-peopled) was itself unquestionably a primitive seat of the Amalekites, and other Edomite tribes: the race by which it was inhabited thus bearing, in this

1832,) Book V. ch. x. 1., xiv. 4., xxi. 29., xxix. 19., xxxv. 3.: Dean Cotton justly conceives "the mountains of Sarah," mentioned exclusively by this Jewish writer, to be "a continuation of that chain, which, in Scripture, is called 'Mount Seir.'" (See note 6. p. 305., and note 9. p. 397.) "The mountains of Sarah" become thus identified with the proper land of Esau.

The name of the mother of the Edomites is still perpetuated at Mount Seir, the cradle of the race, in that of the well denominated *Om Sarah*, at Kerek el Shobek, the capital of Mount Seir.

second, and strictly parallel case, the clearest evidence to the scriptural origin of the name Saracena.

3. The Saracena of Ptolemy adjoined Idumea on the south, and is the same with "the land of Amalek" spoken of in the Old Testament: the primitive seat of the Amalekites, properly so called, or of the tribe of Amalek, the grandson of Esau.

The region of Saracena is described by Ptolemy as the tract of country lying to the west of the great Sinai chain*, along the southern confines of Judea, to the border of Egypt. This description demonstrates its juxtaposition with Idumea; which was, in fact, a continuance of Saracena; and whose second denomination, "the mountains of Sarah," is the direct interpretation of the classical name. The proof of the scriptural origin of both names will be complete, when it shall be seen, that Ptolemy's Saracena was the seat of the Amalekites of Scripture history, and their subordinate tribes. The following texts define

* Eusebius mentions the *Saracens*, as the inhabitants of this tract, in the third century. Speaking of the refugees from persecution, in the reign of Decius, he writes,—πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ Βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν. (E. H. lib. vi. cap. xlii.) The authorities quoted by Professor Robinson prove this region to have been tenanted by the same people, under the kindred denominations of *Saracens*, *Ishmaelites*, or *Nabatheans*, in the fourth and sixth centuries.—Bibl. Res. in Pal. vol. i. pp. 180—185.

the primitive site of Amalek, from the age of Moses to that of David; in other words, from the period of his first appearance, in the Old Testament, as an Arab tribe, to that of the fulfilment of the divine judgments against him.

"And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim.... Then came *Amalek*, and fought with Israel in Rephidim."*

"The *Amalekites* dwell in the land of the south; and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan."†

"Now the *Amalekites* and the Canaanites dwelt in the valley [of Horeb]."‡

"Then the *Amalekites* came down, and the Canaanites, which dwelt in that hill [Mount Horeb], and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."§

"And David and his men went up, and invaded the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the *Amalekites*: for those nations were *of old* the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur,

* Exod. xvii. 1. 8.
† Numb. xiii. 29.
‡ Numb. xiv. 25.
§ Ib. xiv. 45.

even unto the land of Egypt. . . . And Achish said, Whither have ye made a road to-day? And David said, Against the south of Judah, and against the south of the Jerahmeelites, and against the south of the Kenites."*

"And it came to pass, when David and his men were come to Ziklag, on the third day, that the *Amalekites* had invaded the south, and Ziklag." †

Rephidim and Hormah, mentioned in the first and fourth of these passages, were situated towards the south of the peninsula of Sinai. Ziklag, mentioned in the last passage, lay in the south of Judea, in that part afterwards named Idumea. Between these extreme points, along the Egyptian border, the country was peopled by the Amalekites, and their tributary tribes. But this country is the Saracena of Ptolemy; which is thus proved, beyond all question, to have been the seat of the first and greatest of the Edomite nations. And as Idumea was named by this very people, when they became its possessors, *the mountains of Sarah*, . . . Sarah, the wife of Abraham, the mother of their race, evidently, also, gave name to Saracena, and, consequently, to its inhabitants, the Saracens. Thus the author of 5 Maccabees becomes the interpreter of

* 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. 10. † Ib. xxx. 1.

Ptolemy; enabling us conclusively to trace the classical name to its scriptural source.

4. The classical boundaries of the Saracens geographically coincide with the scriptural boundaries of Amalek, taking the Amalekites in the largest sense of the name as the representatives of all the Edomite tribes throughout northern Arabia: for Amalek, like Midian among the tribes from Keturah, became early the generic appellative of the whole race of Esau.

Marcian's circumstantial delineation, in his Periplus, of the positions of the Saracenic tribes in an eastern direction, may fairly be received as embodying the accounts of earlier, and of succeeding writers. His statement is as follows: — "The line of country behind (or south of) Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Deserta, and which forms the neck of Arabia Felix, is peopled by the tribes denominated *Saracens;* who are distinguished from each other *by various specific names*, and possess a great extent of desert country. For they border, at once, on Arabia Petræa, on Arabia Deserta, on Palestine, and on Persia, and, consequently, on the above named Arabia Felix." * Let it be recalled to

* Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐχένα τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας, μετὰ τὴν πετραίαν καὶ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀραβίαν, κατέχουσιν οἱ καλούμενοι [the name was plainly distinctive and peculiar] Σαρακηνοὶ, πλείονας μὲν ἔχοντες προσηγορίας, [the name was also generic, and embraced many tribes of the one race]

mind that Ptolemy places Saracena, the primitive seat of Amalek, between Palestine and the border of Egypt; and it will easily be perceived that Marcian's description of the boundaries of the Saracens is but a repetition of the scriptural account of the boundaries of the Amalekites, in the days of Saul and David: "And Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah, until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt:" in other words, from the banks of the Euphrates, to those of the Nile.

5. The inland position of the genuine Saracenic tribes, as defined in the geography of Marcian, is laid down with an accuracy, which prevents all liability to mistake. Their country, he informs us, was bounded, on the north, by the Stony and Desert Arabia, and, on the south, by the ancient Arabia Felix. * The tract of country thus described unquestionably coincides with the site, and comprizes the inhabitants of the Djebal and Belad Shammar; or the midland region, interposing between the great northern desert and the province of Nedjd.

πολλὴν δὲ διακατέχοντες ἔρημον γῆν· γειτνιῶσι γοῦν οὗτοι τῇ πετραίᾳ Ἀραβίᾳ, καὶ τῇ Παλαιστήνῃ, καὶ τῇ Περσίδῃ, καὶ ἀκολούθως τῇ προειρημένῃ εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβία. — Marcian. Heracleot. Periplus, p. 16. ap. Hudson. Geogr. Vet. Min. tom. i.

* Gen. xxxvi. 37., we have a land-mark of the extension of the kingdom of Edom eastward, in the abode of Rehoboth, one of its early kings, by the Euphrates.

Now, if the face of this whole country, from gulf to gulf, and from the Euphrates to the Nile, proves to be inscribed, at the present day, with names identical with those of the sons, or wives, of Esau, as the national denominations of the great Arab tribes *now* actually occupying these parts, the proof of the identity of the Saracens with the Edomites, or Amalekites (already shown to have inhabited these very districts), will be carried as high, as a question of ancient historical geography can well admit of, and as any impartial inquirer can reasonably expect or demand.

For proofs that the names of the Edomite patriarchs *are*, at this day, thus legibly engraven on the face of the common country of the Saracens and Amalekites, the reader is referred to the ensuing heads, of Amalek, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, with their mothers, Adah, and Timna; of Reuel, Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah, the common stock of Ishmael and Esau; and of Korah, the son of Aholibamah, and grandson of Anah. As these Edomite tribes appear all to have merged their distinctive names under the general denomination of Amalekites, it follows, that Amalek gave name to the whole race of Esau, as Midian to that of Keturah, as the ruling tribe.

6. But, besides the joint evidences arising

from their common site, and the coincidences with the Mosaic catalogue of their sub-denominations, the Saracenic are historically identified with the Edomite or Amalekite tribes by the most remarkable fact, that the Saracens of the age of Mahomet, on their first inroad into the eastern empire, were popularly known to the Greeks by the name of Amalekites. The fact is noticed, without comment, by Mr. Gibbon, who quotes it from Theophanes: by whom the name of Amalek is used in a way clearly implying that it was, then, the common national appellative of the Saracens; the Arab tribes most familiar to the Greeks, as borderers on the territory of the empire towards Syria and Egypt. The words of Theophanes are, "The desert-sprung *Amalek* hath arisen, smiting us, the people of Christ."*

7. *Sarah* and *Saraca*, though treated both by Asseman and Gibbon as distinct etymologies of the national appellative *Saracens*, are, like their derivatives, *Saraceni*, and *Saritæ*, one and the same name: the sole difference lying in the harder, or softer, pronunciation of the final *h*, in the original Arabic, or Hebrew. Thus, from the scripture proper-name *Jerah*, Ptolemy, we have seen, deduces *Jerachæi*.

The identity of Saraca with Sarah might be

* Ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρημίκος Ἀμάληκ, τύπτων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

assumed, from the analogy of the Arabic idiom: it can be demonstrated, from comparison of the Arabian geography of Ptolemy with that of d'Anville. Ptolemy places his Saraca, and Saritæ, immediately south of Mount Climax, and of his Massonitæ, or between the Ishmaelite tribe of Massa, and the Sapharitæ, in the direction of Sabe Regia, or Sanaa. On inspection of d'Anville's map of Arabia, or of the positions of localities accurately taken from it in the present work, the reader will find the very place and people named by the Alexandrine geographer *Saraca* and *Saritæ*, in the true scriptural form of the name, in the district of *Al Saruat*, or "the country of Sarah," and its chief town, *Ayal Sarah*, literally, "the people of Sarah*;" being the names of a city and district of Yemen, situated to the south of the Beni Yam, or Massonitæ, and W. S. W. of the mountain country or Djebal, between Gasan and Sanaa.

The ascertained existence of Edomite settlements, in these parts, may be seen under the ensuing topics, Amalek, and Omar. And since Ayal Sarah is the Arabic original of the Saraca of Ptolemy, it must be equally the true render-

* The derivation of this local denomination from "Sarah the wife of Abraham," as mother of the Edomite tribes of Arabia, is clearly established by the application of the same matronymic, by the Arabs of Omân, to the Jews settled among them. See p. 8. note.

ing of the Saraca of Stephanus, the seat of the northern Saracens; and thus we clearly retrace the name and posterity of "Sarah, the wife of Abraham," from the extreme south of the peninsula, to the neighbourhood of the Belad and Djebal Shammar; and thence, again, to the Saracena of Ptolemy, on the border of Egypt, and to Idumea, otherwise called "the mountains of Sarah," a part of Judea indisputably inhabited by her lineal descendants, the Edomites, the posterity of Esau by Amalek.

To resume the proof as a whole. The origin of the name of Saracens has now been traced to "Sarah, the wife of Abraham," through a series of closely-connected evidences, in which history, profane and sacred, geography, ancient and modern, and etymology, classical and oriental, combine their lights. The names, "mountains of Sarah," and "country of Sarah," by which the northern seats of the Edomites were familiarly known to the Jews, in the age of the Maccabees, are re-echoed from the extreme south, by the Arabs of Yemen, at the present day, in those of Al Saruat, and Ayal Sarah. While these wholly independent authorities, again, reciprocate their evidences with those furnished by the classic writers; whose Saraca, Saritæ, and Saraceni, they, at once, identify and interpret. The preliminary

analogies of Hagarenes from Hagar, and Ketureans from Keturah, which so prominently suggest the antecedent probability of the parallel derivation, from Sarah, of Saritæ, and Saraceni, thus amply borne out, by such a host of witnesses, and such an accumulation of facts, I may unpresumptuously anticipate the judgment of others, and consider the question to be set at rest.

For the full discussion of this question, I shall offer no apology. Its importance will be best appreciated by the most competent judges. The zeal of infidelity in assailing this, and every similar point connected with the authority of Revelation, is the true measure of the duty of establishing their proof. And the present writer will feel most thankful if, as in his former proof of the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael *, he shall, in this instance also, be successful in vindicating the descent of the Saracens from Sarah, and the scriptural origin of that celebrated name, against the idle ridicule, the affected research, and the real ignorance, on this subject, of the sceptical historian of the Roman empire.

That, by the national appellative *Saracens*, Ptolemy intended and comprized *all* the Edomite tribes, is to be inferred from his nearly total

* "Mahometanism Unveiled," vol. ii. Appendix, No. I.

pretermission of the Edomite names of tribes actually existing in the country of the Saracens, contrasted with his large insertion of the names of the sons of Ishmael, and of Keturah, in the cases of the various tribes bearing those respective patronymics. The inference is demonstrable from the most rapid survey of Saracena (as described by Marcian) in connection with its actual population. Thus Ptolemy's Saracens of the Egyptian border, are the tribe of Amalek, and its dependents; his inland Saracens, are the Edomite tribes of Reuel, Kenaz, and Shammah, or the Raualla, the Aeneze, and the Beni Shammar; while his Thamuditæ, of the Arabian Gulf, and his Thamudeni, east of Belad Shammar, are independently proved Saracens, and consequently Edomites, by a record of the eastern empire, in which the Arab auxiliaries enrolled in the armies of Justinian, three hundred in number, are styled "*Saracen* horsemen of the tribe of *Thamud.*"*

The Saracens, therefore, in the age of Ptolemy, if less conspicuous than they subsequently became, appear to have extended quite across the neck of the Arabian peninsula; partly in an inner line behind the Nabatheans, and partly interspersed with the Ishmaelite tribes. And as they

* Decline and Fall.

also extended southward to the hills and coasts of Yemen, we obtain, in their geographical positions, an easy solution of the statements of the classic writers, that the ancient Idumeans commanded the navigation of the Erythrean sea, in its largest sense, including the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, with the intervening part of the Indian Ocean. The periodic circumnavigation of so vast a tract of waters, at so early a period, from the head of the Red Sea, may involve some doubt and difficulty. But the statements in question become perfectly clear and credible, when we find Edomite tribes seated, at the same time, on the coast of the Persian Gulf, and along the shores of the Arabian sea: their wide-spread settlements enabling this great commercial people to establish ports, and maintain inland communications, in every part of the peninsula. This state of things gives the strongest countenance to the opinion of the learned, that the true etymology of the Erythrean sea is from Esau, "which is Edom."

From this general survey of the posterity of Esau, under the generic names of Amalekites, Edomites or Idumeans, and Saracens, we can now proceed with advantage to the restoration of the various Arab tribes deriving from the sons or grandsons of Esau, and distinguished,

respectively, by their names, although included under the above generic patronymics.

ELIPHAZ.—In the first-born son of Esau, by Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, the first of his three wives, we must also recognize the chief founder of the mighty race of Edom. For, though Eliphaz gave not rise to any nation "called after his own name," which recurs only in the Book of Job, as the name of an individual descendant, . . . he yet lives, as the great father of the Edomites, in the names and families of his prolific sons, Teman, Omar, Zepho, Kenaz, Korah, Gatam, each, as will presently appear, the parent of an Arab people; and, lastly and above all, in his son Amalek, the second namer of the whole race of Edom, and characterized in Scripture as "the first of the nations."

But, while the posterity of Eliphaz are not to be found in Arabia, ancient or modern, bearing his own name, like those of Ishmael and Esau they may clearly be discovered bearing the name of his mother Adah, in the tribe of Ad (the Oaditæ of Ptolemy), one of the most famous tribes of Ante-Mahometan Arabia. The origin and fate of Ad, as told by Arab tradition, may be dismissed among the idle fables of the Koran. The situation of the Adites or Oaditæ, in the heart of the country of the Saracens, bespeaks,

no less strongly than the name itself, their descent from Adah.

TEMAN.—The name of this patriarch appears, as that of a district of the land of Edom, in the Mosaic catalogue of the first Edomite kings. On the death of Jobab, the son of Zerah of Bozrah, we read, "and Husham, of *the land of Temani*, reigned in his stead."* The election of a king of Edom, from the tribe of Teman, which had already given name to a portion of the land, marks the early and high consideration which the family of Teman held among the Edomite tribes. From the prophets, we afterwards learn, that its rank and power continued to increase, until Teman became a synonyme for the land of Edom proper †, from Mount Seir to the extremity of the peninsula of Sinai. Bozrah itself is spoken of as the capital of Teman ‡, while elsewhere described as the metropolis of Edom. § The precise position of the land of Temani, at or near the eastern head of the Red Sea, is unequivocally indicated by two texts: one from Isaiah, who, prophesying the fall of Edom, announces that, "at the cry, the noise thereof was heard in the Red Sea;" another from Habakkuk, who describes Jehovah as taking his pro-

* Gen. xxxvi. 34.
† Jer. xlix. 7.
‡ Amos, i. 12.
§ Isaiah, lxiii. 1.

gress " from Teman, and Mount Paran," when he went forth to visit and chastise the inhabitants of " the land of Midian." Teman, consequently, lay immediately north of Midian, or at the eastern head of the Red Sea. This site we may conjecture to have been his inheritance by birthright, as the eldest of the sons of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau, by Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; whose name and rule, in this quarter of Edom, is perpetuated, in the classical names of *Elana*, and the *Elanitic* Gulf.

OMAR.—The name, and probably a remnant of the race, of this son of Eliphaz, are observable, to this day, at the northern head of Djebal Shera, the Mount Seir of the Old Testament, in the tribe of *Beni Ammar*. But the posterity of Omar are recoverable, with still stronger marks of identification, in a far-distant quarter, at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The settlements of Esau have been already traced, in these pages, to the neighbourhood of Sanaa, under the generic name of Saritæ or Saracens; the inhabitants of the districts of *Al Saruat*, and *Ayal Sarah*. From the generic appellations, " the country of Sarah," and " the people of Sarah," I now turn to a specific Edomite appellative; and to the union of wholly independent proofs, which concur to identify the name and tribe of *Omar*, the second son

of Eliphaz, and brother to the famous Amalek, with the most powerful and illustrious nation of southern Arabia, the ancient *Homerites;* the founders of a potent state and dynasty, upon the ruins of the Joktanite kingdom of the Sabeans.

The proofs which support the derivation of the Homerites of the Greek and Roman geographers, from Omar, the son of Eliphaz, and grandson of Esau, may be reduced under the following heads: —1. The evidence arising from the names of localities, ancient and modern, in this part of Yemen. 2. The near neighbourhood of other Edomite tribes. 3. The testimony of Arab tradition to the origin of the Homerites; which proves them not aboriginals in Yemen, but comparatively recent intruders upon the empire of the Joktanites or Sabeans. 4. The testimony of the same native tradition to the fact, that the Amalekites were formerly to be found near Sanaa; whence they emigrated, in after times, as conquerors, to the north.

1. Evidence arising from the names of localities in this part of Yemen.

The name and site of the Homerites * are

* With Pliny (lib. vi. § 32.) we must carefully discriminate the Homerites (Homeritæ) from their Joktanite predecessors the Hamyarites (Hamirei). The former name is preserved in the town of *Omera*, on the S.W. coast; the latter, in Ras *Hamier*, a headland of the central coast. The *Hamyaritic* tongue was the language spoken by Pliny's *Hamirei*

too conspicuous, both in the classical and in the native accounts of Yemen to require detailed elucidation. It may suffice, for our purpose, to remark, that the kingdom of the Homerites extended southward, from Mariaba or Mareb, their capital, to the sea; including, in its long line of coast, the ports of the Arabian sea, from Aden to Hadramáut. The local nomenclature in the neighbourhood of Aden, while it preserves to this day the memory of this once famous people, clearly shows the etymological correctness of the derivation of the national appellative Homerites from Omar. That the names are differenced only by the use, or omission, of the aspirate, is known to all Orientalists: that the two forms of this name are used indifferently, and interchangeably, by the Arabs themselves, is clear from M. Niebuhr's map of Yemen; where we meet Nakhil *Homar*, as the name of a range of hills, and *Omera*, as that of an adjoining town, in the Bellad Aden. But Homar and Omera, being names alike derived from the Homerites, in former times the undoubted possessors of this country, the etymology of Homerites from Omar, so plainly suggested by the names themselves,

(the Hamyar of the Arabs); and still, perhaps, by the people of Mahrah. — See d'Anville's map. For the language and tribe of Hamyar, the son of Saba, and grandson of Joktan, see Pock. Spec. pp. 41. 58, 59. 61. 66, 67. 155. 179.

is fully borne out by the evidence of extant local denominations.

2. Evidence from near neighbourhood of other Edomite tribes.

W.N.W. of the kingdom of the Homerites, we meet the Saritæ of Ptolemy, by the natives of Yemen called literally "the people of Sarah;" whom I have already identified with the Edomites. Adjoining the district of Al Saruat, inhabited by this tribe, the town of *Katam* or *Gatam*, still preserves the name of Gatam, one of the brothers of Omar. Yet higher north, in the vicinity of Mekka, two more brothers, Kenaz and Korah, have apparently bestowed their names on the country, or its inhabitants. In the same neighbourhood, another Edomite name, that of Jaalam, adds a fresh link to the chain of the southern settlements of Esau: which, from this point, are more familiarly legible along the coast, in the headland of *Ras Edom*, and the harbour of *Bar Edom;* localities, which stand as middle terms to connect the Edomites of the south with those of Mount Seir and the Elanitic Gulf, the primitive and proper "land of Edom." It must, lastly, be remarked, to bind together these circumstantial evidences, that we have the uniform consent of Arabian tradition, for the flux and reflux of the Edomite tribes, under the general

name of Amalekites*, along the entire chain. The authorities for this striking fact will be found under the head of Amalek.

3. Testimony of Arabian tradition to the foreign origin of the Homerites.

Arab history and tradition throw further light on the origin of the Homerites, by the admission, that they were *not* originally a people of Yemen; but a race of invaders from the north, who subverted the ancient empire of the Sabeans. Conformably with this account, we find Epiphanius speaking of the Homerites as an Abrahamic race, the descendants of Abraham by Keturah. This remarkable ecclesiastical tradition proves the existence of a belief, in the sixth century, that the Homerites were a people of Abrahamic origin. But, if of the posterity of Abraham, their name alone sufficiently attests them to have come of the stock of Esau.

4. Testimony of Arab tradition to the emigration of the southern Amalekites, as conquerors, to the north, and to the seats of their fathers.

According to another tradition, the original seats of Amalek were in Sanaa, and the surrounding parts of Yemen; whence, in after-

* "The Hamyarites [Homerites], a tribe which the Arabians suppose to be descended from the ancient *Amalekites*."—Ockley, Hist. of Sar. i. 57, 58.

times, the Amalekites emigrated, as invaders, first to the neighbourhood of Mekka and Medina; and, finally, to the northern desert, and the frontiers of Syria and Palestine.* As this tradition deduces the race of Amalek, not from Esau, but from Shem by another line†, it is worthy of regard only as supplying fresh evidence for the existence of Edomite tribes in Yemen, and for the probable descent, therefore, of the Homerites from Omar.

This essay to identify the Homerites with Omar and the Edomites, under their second generic appellation of Amalekites, assumes a still higher interest and importance, when viewed, as I shall now proceed to view what has been here advanced, in connection with an event recorded by the highest of all authorities. Among the historical events of the Old Testament, few are more memorable or momentous than the judicial extirpation of Amalek, by Moses and his successors, in obedience to the express commandment of Jehovah. The execution of this divine decree, commenced by Moses and Joshua, was

* Excerpta ex Abulfeda (De Sacy), ap. Spec. Hist. Arab. Appendix, pp. 464, 465. edit. Oxon. 1806.

† The tradition, however, is self-corrective; since, while it makes the Amalekites of Yemen descendants of Lhud the son of Shem, it states them, at the same time, to be the same people, who were afterwards destroyed by Moses [Saul].

completed only in the reign of Saul: when the Amalekites of northern Arabia appear to have ceased to exist as a distinct people. Now the sentence against Amalek must have been carried into effect, in one or other of two ways: either by the total annihilation of the Amalekites individually*; or by their emigration to other parts. The former of these alternatives is not required by the terms of the sacred text: nor could such a destruction of a great Arab people, with trackless deserts in their rear, have been accomplished otherwise than by miracle. The latter, and more merciful interpretation comes recommended, on the other hand, by its intrinsic verisimilitude: while to decide us in its favour, it stands supported by the unbiassed and independent witness of native tradition.

* That their extirpation was not total is abundantly manifest from Scripture. Thus, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8., we read of David's expedition against the Amalekites, in their native seats west of Sinai; and 1 Sam. xxx. 1, 2., of a counter-expedition of the Amalekites against Ziklag. At a much later period, in the reign of Hezekiah, the Simeonites invaded and destroyed the remnant of the Amalekites at Mount Seir. (1 Chron. iv. 42, 43.) The power of the nation was broken, but its fragments, still formidable, remained. It is remarkable that Saul, their chief destroyer, was himself slain by an Amalekite. These scriptural marks of the continuance of Amalek in the north give weight to the testimony of native historians, who speak of the Amalekites of the Euphrates; and number among the kings of Hira more than one prince of the race of Amalek.

ثم ملك يعده أوس بن قحم العمليقي ثم ملك اخرون

De Sacy, Excerpt. ex. Abulfed. ut supra, pp. 432, 433. العماليق

The disappearance of the ancient Amalekites, pursuant to the judgment divinely denounced against them, from the north, and their reappearance, according to the consent of native authorities, in the extreme south of the peninsula, stand thus as reciprocal elucidations of the truth of the Old Testament history. That these fugitives from Arabia Deserta, should have become, under the name of Homerites, the conquerors of Arabia Felix, is only consonant with the history of all barbarous nations; whose conquests (as in the familiar example of the barbarians of northern Asia) have usually been the result of compulsory emigration: the weaker power, in one quarter, becoming the stronger, in another. And thus comparison of the facts with the probabilities of the case reconducts us to the conclusion, that the kingdom of the Homerites, so celebrated in the annals of Greece and Rome, owed its rise to the defeat and destruction of the Amalekites by Saul.

ZEPHO.—The name of Zepho, the third of the sons of Eliphaz, is apparently legible at this day, in those of two districts of Arabia, both situated in the heart of other settlements of Esau; namely, Djiuf or Dzuf, a province lying centrally between the Djebel and Belad Shammar, and Djof or Dzof, a region in the country of the Homerites, west of Merab, under the Nikkum or Lokkum

mountains. North-west of this southern Djof, about lat. 17°, on the route to Beishe and Hejaz, the race, as well as the name, of the Edomite Zepho seems recoverable, in the *Sophanitæ* of Ptolemy, or Beni *Sefian* of Burckhardt; a tribe seated under the continuation of the same inland range, and forming a connecting link between the Edomite settlements of Yemen and Hejaz.

GATAM. — I have observed, that the Edomite, or Saracenic, tribes, became gradually so merged in the ruling tribe of Amalek, as to be generally known, in after-times, only by the name of Amalekites. Of this historical fact, the case of Gatam furnishes a striking exemplification. For while, in common with all his brethren, overshadowed and absorbed by the higher name and fortunes of the son of Timna, the primitive seats of Amalek himself, in the proper land of Edom, seem still covered with vestiges of the name and posterity of Gatam. From "Etham," and "the wilderness of Etham" (the country around the head of the Gulf of Suez), the form in which, softened by Bedouin pronunciation, this name appears in the later books of Moses, the transition is natural and easy to the *Autei* of Pliny, the Beni *Atye* of Burckhardt, and the desert of *Tyh;* the actual names of the country in question, and of its inhabitants, at the present day.

From the western, stretching round the eastern head of the Arabian Gulf, encampments of the B. Atye, lying east of Midian, guide our researches after Gatam, southwards, until the scriptural name apparently returns, under the classical disguises of *Agdami*, and *Tammacum** (the modern Tayf); a place, by neighbourhood as well as by name, marked out as an Edomite colony, it being the next station to a metropolis, whose classical name is demonstration of its origin, the *Mariaba Bar-Amalacum* of Pliny † (now Taraba), or *Merab of the sons of Amalek*. As we advance further south, the scriptural name of this Edomite patriarch, at length, presents itself, without alteration or disguise, in the modern geography of the country, in *Katam*, or *Gatam*, a town of the Edomite district of *Al Saruat*, the seat of the *Saritæ* of Ptolemy, or "people of Sarah:" the name of the province and its inhabitants thus uniting with that of the town, to verify its derivation from Gatam, the son of Eliphaz.

KENAZ.—Dr. Wells states as a probability, what he might have assumed as a fact, that the

* *Agdami* is literally the Arabic pronunciation of *Al Gatamy*, "of the tribe of Gatam." The *Tammacum* of Pliny, apparently the same town, may be taken either as the contraction, or the inversion, of the same Edomite name.

† Lib. vi. § 32.

Kenezites, mentioned in Genesis, (xv. 19.) were the descendants of *Kenaz**, the youngest of the legitimate sons of Eliphaz; the promise to Abraham, in this instance, being clearly proleptical, and including nations yet unborn, who should come under the dominion of his seed by promise. On this presumption, he further justly infers, that the Kenezites may here stand as representatives of the Edomites at large†, who were, in the event, brought, for a time, under the dominion of the Israelites. But that Kenaz should thus typify the whole race of Esau, plainly implies the future magnitude and importance of this tribe; and as plainly suggests the likelihood, that proportionate traces of it would be found in the actual population of the country.

Now, in the classical geography of Arabia, the name and tribe of Kenaz, or *Al Kenaz*, may, with good probability, be discerned, in the *Lækeni* or *Læeni* of Ptolemy; a people lying at the eastern extremity of the inland settlements of Esau, and near the Persian Gulf. But, by this location, and the double coincidence of name and site, the

* So, Numb. xxxii. 12., Caleb is termed *the Kenezite*, after his brother *Kenaz*.

† The identity of the Kenizzites with the Amalekites or Edomites, does not rest on conjecture. It can be clearly deduced from Scripture. For Gen. xv. 19. we find the *Kenites* coupled with the *Kenizzites*, as adjoining or intermingled people. And 1 Sam. xvi. 6. we learn, that the *Kenites* dwelt intermingled with the *Amalekites*. The Kenizzites, it follows, were the same with the Amalekites.

Lækeni or Læeni become at once identified with the most formidable Bedouin nation in Arabia, the Aenezes, or El Aenezes; the most numerous of whose tribes, the Besher Arabs, compose, as we learn from Burckhardt, the chief population of Nedjd, while its branches extend eastward into the province of El Hassa. *

The softening of Læ*k*eni into La*e*eni, in the various readings of Ptolemy and his interpreter, authorizes and authenticates, very remarkably, the strictly corresponding softening of *K*enaz into *A*eneze†: or rather it *exemplifies* the assumed change in this proper name; a change simply in accordance with the known idiomatic tendency of the Bedouin pronunciation. The Edomite origin of the Aenezes, and the scriptural derivation of the name, will receive fresh and striking illustration, under the head of *Reuel:* where we shall find one of the chief tribes of this great Bedouin race actually bearing to this day, in its unaltered integrity, the name of Reuel, the second son of Esau, . . . the brother of Eliphaz, and uncle of Kenaz.‡

* Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 218, 219.

† A similar softening of name has been indicated, in Arabia Petræa, by Professor Robinson. "Adjacent to this well, the ground was strewed with ruins, which our Arabs called El-*K*hûlasa; in which name we could not but recognize the ancient *E*lusa. (Bibl. Res. in Pal. vol. i. p. 296.

‡ Ptolemy supplies independent proof of the Aeneze being the same

Our reference of the Aenezes, for their origin, to Esau, and for their name, to Kenaz, may give heightened interest to Mr. Burckhardt's notices of this great Arab people. "The *Aenezes* (he observes) are the most powerful Arab nation in the vicinity of Syria; and, if we add to them their brethren in Nedjd, may be reckoned one of the most considerable body of Bedouins in the Arabian deserts.... The northern Aenezes, of whom alone I speak here, are divided into four principal bodies.... From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes above mentioned (their brethren in Nedjd not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders. ... The whole northern Aeneze nation may be estimated at from three hundred to three hundred and fifty thousand souls, spread over a country of at least forty thousand square miles."*

tribe with his Lækeni, and with the Kenaz of Scripture, in the common name of the capital. For the capital of the Lækeni was *Arre* Vicus, east of the Vadeni, or of Wady Sarr, and of Mount Zames: a name and site well corresponding with *Derayeh* or *Deraie*, the capital of the Raualla Aenezes. (See Burckhardt, Notes on B. and W. p. 218.) The absorption of the tribe of Reuel in that of his nephew Kenaz, is only in accordance with precedents already pointed out, in nearly all the patriarchal stocks.

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 1—9.

AMALEK. — We now come to that son of Eliphaz, whose posterity is described, in the Mosaic Scriptures, as "the first of the nations;" whose seats, in the age of Saul, extended "from Havilah to Shur," or from the Euphrates to the Nile; who, in the event, appears to have given name to the whole race of Esau, and, by conquest or incorporation, to have absorbed, as in one family, all the various Edomite or Saracenic tribes. "And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz AMALEK."*

Upon the scriptural notices of Amalek, and of his early greatness and glory, it is needless to enlarge. It will suffice, for our object, to observe, that they are such, as amply to justify the expectation, that corresponding vestiges of the ancient Amalekites would survive, in the names of tribes, or localities, of the Arabian peninsula. Nor will the expectation be disappointed. In the classical geography of Arabia, indeed, I discover only one example in point, but this one example is, in itself, a host, the Mariaba Bar-Amalacum of Pliny, or "Merab of the sons of Amalek," the present Taraba: for, on the name of this metropolis, as on a focus, converge rays of historic light, from the surrounding Edomite names of Gatam, Jaalam, Kenaz, Korah, Zim-

* Gen. xxxvi. 12.

ran, spread over the face of the land, from Jezerat *Edom*, and Ras *Edom*, on the coast of Hejaz, to Al *Saruat*, and Ayal *Sarah*, in the vicinity of Sanaa. This classical vestige of the race of Amalek, thus preserved, in Hejaz, in the name of an Amalekite metropolis, receives direct light and confirmation from the actual existence of the name, and it may be justly inferred of the race, both in this neighbourhood, and on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the Beni *Malek* of Zohran*, and the Beni *Maledj* of the Shat al Arab. †

The location of the Beni Maledj on the confines of the ancient Havilah, the scriptural boundary of the Amalekites on the east, might well suffice to complete the evidence of Edomite origin arising from their name. This evidence, however, is still further corroborated by the remarkable fact, that Arabs of the Euphrates as high north as Anah, are known commonly to speak of themselves as descendants of Esau.‡

* Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 374.

† "Reports on the Navigation of the Euphrates," by Col. Chesney, R. A., Map. The Beni Maledj of the Euphrates are seated immediately north of Bussora; and are evidently the same with the Amalekites mentioned by the Arab writers, in connection with the kingdom of Hira.

‡ It is very remarkable, that the Arabs of *Anah*, in particular, actually describe themselves as (what the name of their town imports) Edomites, or Children of Esau. The Anah Arabs are adjoined on the south by the Aeneze: "the latter (observes Col. Chesney) have

That the Beni Malek of Zohran are, as their name so plainly implies, equally Amalekites, and that the Edomite names of localities with which the Hedjaz abounds are, in point of historical fact, of Edomite origin, can also be established in a very interesting way, by the independent witness of Arab tradition. I have already suggested the antecedent likelihood, that the divine sentence against Amalek, which certainly did not extend to the utter extinction of this people, was, in great part, effected, by the flight of the Amalekites inland before the victorious Israelites, and their settlement in the distant regions of the south. This presumption we have further seen converted into proof, by a constant native tradition, which, retaining the substance while it confounds the circumstances of historic truth, represents the country round Sanaa as once peopled by the Amalekites ; whose disappearance from the north stands thus met and explained by their reappearance in the south. It remains only to remind the reader, that the same tradition proceeds to state the subsequent return of Amalek northwards ; and the establishment of this tribe, as conquerors, in Mekka, and the surrounding parts of the Hedjaz. When, therefore, both in

the authority on the right bank as far as the Hit." (Ut supr. p. 37.) The Aenezes are here followed by the Shammar. — Ib.

the classical and modern geography of Arabia, we find tribes or localities of the Hedjaz called by the names of Amalek and his brethren, we have every ground to consider those local denominations, not as bestowed fortuitously, but as genuine patronymics belonging to the families of Esau.

REUEL.—In the case of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau, while his race and memory are conspicuously preserved, in the names and families of his numerous sons, we have been unable to recover any people or district of Arabia called directly after his own name. The result is different, in the case of his next brother, Reuel.* For, while equally perpetuated with Eliphaz, through the medium of tribes and territories, along the line of Edomite settlements towards Havilah and the Euphrates, bearing the names of his sons, "Nahath and Zerah, Shammah and Mizzah," this patriarch would appear to have bestowed his own name on a powerful Bedouin tribe of the northern desert, a branch of the great Aeneze confederacy, the *Raualla* Arabs. That the Raualla indeed derive their origin from the Edomite Reuel may plainly be inferred from their loca-

* The son of Esau by Bashemath; in the veins of whose numerous posterity, consequently, flowed the mingled blood of Ishmael and Nebaioth: whence the Ishmaelites and Idumeans came to be regarded and spoken of as *one people*.

tion, no less than from their name: the central encampments of this tribe lying in juxtaposition with the Djebel and Belad *Shammar*, a spacious inland province, inhabited by the potent tribe of Beni *Shammar;* denominations which bespeak, to a letter, their derivation from *Shammah*, the third of the sons of Reuel.

Mr. Burckhardt's account of the Raualla Arabs may be introduced appropriately under the head of Reuel.... "*El Raualla* — also called *el Djelaes*—a powerful tribe, possessing more horses than any other of the Aeneze. In 1809, they defeated a body of six thousand men, sent against them by the Pasha of Baghdad. They generally occupy the desert *from Djebel Shammar* towards the Djof, and thence towards the southern vicinity of the Hauran; but they frequently encamp between the Tigris and Euphrates.* Like the other Aenezes, they had for many years refused the customary tribute to the Wahaby chief, whose religion they had embraced: their courageous opposition to the Pasha of Baghdad caused a reconciliation between them and Ibn Saoud. In July, 1810, they accompanied the Wahabys into the

* "Some of the Aniza are to be met with as far as the borders of Persia, and the whole way over the desert; also along the river, as well as inwards from the sea to the Haouran."— Col. Chesney, Reports on Navigation of the Euphrates, p. 43.

Hauran, and led Ibn Saoud to the most wealthy villages. The Raualla, every spring, pay a visit to the tribe of Ibn Esmeyr, to obtain, through his interference, permission from the Pasha, that they may purchase, in his territory, wheat and barley. The Djelaes are not entitled either to the szourra from the Hadj, or to any tribute from the Baghdad and Basra caravans. Their principal tribes are, *el Soualéme*, *el Abdelle*, *Ferdja*, *el Belaaysh*, *el Bedour*, *Ibn Augdje*, *el Zerák**, *Sahhan*, *Hedjlis*, *Deraye*." †

NAHATH. — In the modern geography of the peninsula, so far as our very imperfect information as yet extends‡, I am not aware of any Arab tribe still retaining the name of the eldest son of Reuel. But, in the Arabia of Ptolemy, the occurrence, in the neighbourhood of the Djebel Shammar, and in the midst of tribes now actually bearing the names of Reuel, and of his younger sons, of the significant appellation *Banacha*, as the name of a town on the border of the northern desert, indicates, apparently, the name and site of the *Beni Nachath*, or *sons of Nahath*.

* After *Zerah*, one of the sons of Reuel. — See Gen. xxxvi. 13.

† Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 4, 5. Conf. pp. 217, 218.

‡ Burckhardt frankly acknowledges the scantiness of his own information, respecting the names of the Arab tribes in this quarter. — Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 231, 232.

ZERAH. — Among the tribes enumerated by Burckhardt, as subdivisions of the *Raualla* Arabs, the reader may have remarked that of el *Zerach*: a coincidence of proper names the more striking, because it so naturally connects the family of *Zerah* with that of his father *Reuel*. The appearance of Zerah in the modern geography of Arabia, as the name of an Arab tribe, and the claim of this tribe of the Rauallas to descend from Zerah the son of Reuel, is, in the next place, illustrated and confirmed by the classical geography; since we find, in Ptolemy, between Mount Zames and the Astan river, amidst other Edomite names, that of the *Zeeritæ*, literally, in other words, the Beni *Zerah*. But the undoubted existence of the name and tribe, in the second century of our era, proves to demonstration the antiquity of both in Arabia: while their ascertained antiquity becomes, in its turn, the strongest of all presumptions for their scriptural origin.

SHAMMAH.*—From the recovery of the Edomite Zerah and his posterity, in the Zeeritæ of Ptolemy, and the el Zerah, a branch tribe of the Rauallas, our next step in the process of restora-

* *Um Shaumer*, a lofty mountain west of Mount Sinai, preserves the name of this patriarch, in the proper land of Edom. (See Robinson's Palestine, vol. i. p. 155.)

tion lands us amidst a province and people, bearing now, as they bore of old, the name, to within a letter, of his brother *Shammah*. The reader will anticipate my reference to the midland provinces of Djebel, and Belad *Shammar*, inhabited by the *Zamareni* of Pliny, or the Beni *Shammar* of Burckhardt; one of the most powerful tribes of central Arabia, and seated in the heart of the scriptural settlements of Esau. For the territory of this tribe borders on the northern desert; where its next neighbours are, the el Zerah, the Rauallas, and other branches of the Aeneze. The result exemplifies afresh the justness of Dr. Wells's canon, that the seats of the patriarchal families are generally to be sought and found, in the order in which the patriarchs, their respective forefathers, are named in Scripture. But, while the proper seats of the Shammarys lie in the centre of the peninsula, their encampments, as we learn from Burckhardt, extend, eastward, to the Euphrates and Mesopotamia.* We have but to attend them in their migration to these parts, to find Shammah in juxtaposition with his youngest brother Mizzah, in the land of Havilah, the eastern term of the scriptural settlements of Esau.

MIZZAH.—At the mouths of the Euphrates, or

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 231.

the *Shat al Arab*, on the Arabian side, the Μεσανίτης κολπος, or Phrat *Misan*, represents, with equal correctness, in the Greek of Ptolemy, and in the modern Arabic, the proper name *Mizzah*. That the nomenclature in this instance, as in our preceding examples, is significant, and bespeaks the settlement of the youngest son of Reuel, is fairly inferable from the surrounding Edomite names, Raualla, Zerah, Shammar, Korah; as well as from the site of the Mesanites sinus itself, at the head of the Persian Gulf, anciently the great field of Idumean commerce. For, in those infant days of navigation, it is *by their ports on the Persian Gulf* we can alone rationally explain the accounts of the ancients, respecting the monopoly of its commerce by the Idumeans.*

JEUSH. — The *Gæsa* of Ptolemy, a town near the Persian Gulf, S.W. of his Mesanites sinus, is the only probable vestige of this eldest son of Esau by Aholibamah, discernible in the topography of Arabia. The location, however, of this town, in the neighbourhood of the *Coranitæ* of Pliny†, a name obviously identical with that of *Korah*, the youngest of their three sons, much strengthens the probability, that *Gæsa* may be,

* On this point, Lempriere has accumulated the authorities.—See Class. Dict. art. Erythr. Mar.

† Lib. vi. § 32.

either the Arabic form, or the classical corruption, of *Jeush*.

JAALAM.—Of Jaalam, the second of these brethren, the traces seem more strongly marked. The name of this patriarch apparently still exists, in a slightly abridged form, as the second appellation of a great Edomite tribe, the Rauallas, "also called el *Djelaes**:" a verification implying, what has been always a common usage among kindred Arab tribes, the junction, in ancient times, of Jaalam with Reuel.† But, however this may be, the name of Jaalam is literally preserved, with the reduplication only of the final syllable, in the neighbourhood of Mekka, amidst unquestionable Edomite localities, in Mount *Jalam*lam, on the coast of Hedjaz, immediately south of Djidda. The correctness of the derivation of *Jalamlam* from *Jaalam* will presently be more fully seen, when this immediate neighbourhood shall be shown to abound with localities, bearing, unaltered, the name of his brother *Korah*.

KORAH.—However slight or limited the traces of Jeush and Jaalam in Arabia, those compara-

* Burckhardt's Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 4.

† So the mingled descendants of Nebaioth and Esau were indifferently termed *Nabatheans* and *Idumeans*; and the *Midianites*, in like manner, *Ishmaelites*.

tively few and faint remains are, at once, compensated and confirmed, by the ample vestiges of Korah, their youngest brother, in the names of tribes or localities, throughout the northern, the eastern, and the western settlements of Esau. Beginning from the west, and the neighbourhood of Mount Jalamlam, we meet Sebyl el *Kora* (the way of Korah), Dj *Kora* (the companies or attendants of Korah), and Ras el *Kora* (the peak of Korah), as the names of a town, a district, and a mountain, in the country around Mekka. Ascending northward, we find a town of *Korah*, in the heart of the Edomite district of Djebel Shammar; and another town of *Kora*, towards the Euphrates, on the borders of the al Dahna, or great northern desert. Thence descending towards the south, we recover, at length, at opposite sides of the peninsula, the Edomite tribe, as well as name of *Korah*, in the *Koranitæ* of Pliny, a people of the Persian Gulf, already noticed under the head of Jeush; and in the *Beni Kora* of Yemen: tribes, alike by name, by site, by neighbourhood, self-evidently the posterity of this youngest son of Esau and Aholibamah.*

* For other localities of the name, see Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. i. pp. 118. 121, 122. For vestiges of the name and race of Kora in Yemen, see Cruttenden's Journal, ap. Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc. vol. viii. p. 276. The ferocious robber tribe of *Beni Kora*, there described, still preserve that scriptural mark of the race of Esau (Gen. xxvii. 40.), "By thy sword shalt thou live."

THE COUNTRY, CITY, AND SETTLEMENTS OF JOB.

The historical reality of the persons and transactions recorded in the Book of Job; the remote antiquity of that sublime portion of the Old Testament; the Arabian origin, and Abrahamic descent, of the patriarch of Uz; are questions which have been long and amply discussed by the learned, and which, in all essential respects, have finally been brought to the most satisfactory adjustment in our own day. After the masterly and triumphant argument of a late eminent prelate of our United Church*, the existence of Job, and of his friends, will hereafter be disputed by those only, whose love of controversy outweighs their regard for candour, and for truth. Whether the contemporary of Moses, or (as seems more likely) living long before his time, the main fact, the early age of the Arabian patriarch, is no longer doubtful. And, whether descended, as supposed by some, directly from Abraham through Esau, or as believed by others, collaterally by *Uz* and Nahor, it seems equally undoubted, that Job was, by birth or adoption, an Edomite, dwelling in a part of Arabia bordering on the land of Edom.†

* Archbishop Magee.

† On the site of the land of Uz, M. J. E. Muller has collected the

But, while these points have been so cleared, as to be now generally admitted, the true site of the country of Job, the geographical position of the land of Uz itself, has been allowed to remain comparatively unsettled; while another inquiry, at least equally natural, and of still higher interest, as to possible vestiges (after the analogy of all the patriarchs whose *families* are named in Scripture) of his posterity, in Arabia, in after-times, has scarcely been so much as raised. To these two questions, as falling properly within the design of the present work, and as specially connected with the settlements of Esau, I shall now, in conclusion, address myself.

SITE OF THE LAND OF UZ. — I have elsewhere noticed the mistaken notions of all the commentators, respecting the scriptural limits of the settlements of Esau; which, by general consent, they would seem to confine to the country lying around Palestine, on the south and east, from the border of Egypt, and the peninsula of Sinai, to the neighbourhood of the Hauran. As one natural consequence of this errour, Job and the land of Uz (rightly presumed to be locally connected with the Edomite settlements) have been transported, by some, to the vicinity of Bosra and the Hauran, by others, to the part of Arabia

opinions of the learned, Jews and Christians, in his Dissertation *De Terra Jobi*. — See Thes. Vet. Test. tom. i. pp. 540—552.

Petræa between Egypt and the Philistines: the former site resting wholly on a conjecture of Josephus and St. Jerome*; the latter, on the dubious explanation of a passage in Jeremiah.† Yet, all the while, a real land of Uz might be seen laid down, in the Arabia of Ptolemy, on the opposite side of the peninsula, in his country of the *Æsitæ*‡, a people of Arabia Deserta, adjoining Chaldea and the Euphrates. To this quarter, accordingly, we will now turn; and examine the circumstances, which unite to identify it with the country of Job.

In the first place, the Edomite tribes unquestionably extending, as I have shown, from Egypt to the Euphrates, the Æsitæ or Uzzites of Ptolemy lay quite as properly in the neighbourhood of Edom on the eastern, as they could have done if seated on the western side of the peninsula. But, in the next place, the territory of this people is so placed geographically, as to expose them, in opposite directions, to the very inroads from the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, by which Job suffered the loss of his oxen and asses, on the one side, and of his camels, on the

* Eusebius and St. Jerome notice a vague tradition of Palestine, which placed Job at Ashtaroth Carnaim. — See Calmet's Dict. of Bible.

† Jer. xxv. 20. As the catalogue of nations in this prediction (xxv. 15—26.) is out of geographical order in several instances, it supplies no certain index to the position of the land of Uz.

‡ Αἰσίται.—ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσίτιδι (LXX). In Ptolemy and the LXX version, we have the same Greek form of the Hebrew name.

other: the Æsitæ of Ptolemy being flanked by his *Chaldea*, on the north-east, and, on the south west by his *Sabe*, the seat of the Bedouin *Sabeans* of Keturah.* This coincidence, alike so peculiar and complete, might alone suffice to identify the country of Æsitæ with the scriptural "land of Uz."† Nor does the evidence close here: for the country of the Æsitæ lay not more remarkably between the enemies, than amidst the friends, of Job: Bildad the *Shuhite* being a descendant of *Shuah*, the youngest son of Keturah, and an inhabitant, apparently, of the *Shua* or *Shoa* of Ezekiel, a district on the Chaldean border‡; and Eliphaz the *Temanite* belonging to the desert country in the opposite direction,

* "Quæritur, quales Sabæi hic animo concipiendi sint, cum per plures eosdem provincias Historici distribuant? Et respondemus, alios huc melius accommodari non posse, quam Sabæos Arabiæ, et quidem *desertæ*, prædones, calculo Bolducci, non longius viginti leucis à terra Utz dissitæ; ex ea potissimum ratione, quod cum Chaldæis, similes cum similibus, facillime congregentur, *qui terram Utz mediam prope tenuerunt, et ab utrovis latere infestare potuerunt*. . . . Propter vicinitatem igitur, hæc regio hisce prædonibus, uti et Chaldæis, cum quibus mutuam, ut diximus, furandi ac rapiendi operam conjungere potuerunt, commodissima quam alia quæcunque patuit. De Chaldæis commemorat Xenophon, fide dignissimus historicus, *non aliunde eos vivere, quam prædis et incursionibus in regiones finitimas*. Omnium vero sceleratissimos fuisse arbitror Sabæos, perpetuis præliis vicinam quamcunque gentem incessentes."—M. J. E. Muller, ut supr. p. 550.

† Cum vero *triplex* terræ Utz, seu Idumææ, plaga sit, prima circa Damascum; *altera ab Arabia Deserta, prope Chaldæam, præclusa*; et tertia Petrææ vicina; aliam Jobo haud adsignatam volumus, *quam secundam*, à Chaldæis et Arabibus *utrinque cinctam*. — Ib. p. 551.

‡ Ezek. xxiii. 23.

which has been always inhabited, and is inhabited to this day, by the Beni *Temin.*

THE CITY OF JOB.—In thus fixing the true site of the land of Uz, we may be found to have made an important advance towards a more difficult point, . . . the discovery of Job's place of residence. On this point of inquiry, hopeless as it may seem at first view, a clue, to a certain extent, is supplied by the Book of Job itself. Among the most ancient and established usages of eastern kings and rulers, was the custom of sitting to give judgment *in the gates of their cities.** Now from two passages of the Book of Job (xxix. 7—25., xxxi. 21.), the unquestionable fact is disclosed, that Job was himself in the habit of sitting, as a king and judge, on a prepared seat or throne, *in the gate of his own city.*† While, from the description of the numerous auditory assembled there, comprizing old and young, *princes* and *nobles*, that city plainly appears to have been one of no ordinary size and importance.‡ Job, it follows, had his dwelling,

* 2 Sam. xix. 8.; Jer. xxxviii. 7., xxxix. 3.; Amos, v. 12. 15.

† Job, xxix. 7.

‡ "When I went out to the gate, through the city;
When I prepared my seat in the street:
The young men saw me, and hid themselves;
And the aged arose, and stood up.
The princes refrained talking;
And laid their hand on their mouth:
The nobles held their peace;
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth."—xxix. 7—10.

not in the open country, but in a chief city, most probably the metropolis, of the land of Uz.

Now this scriptural clue very curiously tallies with the opinion formed, quite independently of it, by the learned Calmet, that *Job* was the same with *Jobab**, one of the earliest kings of Edom; and that, consequently, his place of residence was in the royal city of *Dinhabah*. "The Scripture relates *Dinhabah* to have been the capital of Jobab's kingdom, which Jobab we believe to be the same as Job. This city was in the *Ausitis*, or in *Arabia Deserta*. As we suppose Job and Jobab to the same person, we must say, likewise, that he lived and died at *Dinhabah*."

The recovery of the city of Dinhabah becomes the next object of inquiry; and here, again, we are happily aided in our researches, by, if possible, still more curious undesigned coincidences. The *Dinhabah* of Scripture, written *Daihab* in the

* The postscript of the Arabic version, which is after the ancient Syriac, identifies Job with the Jobab of Gen. xxxvi. 33.

وايوب كان ساكنافي ارض عوص في اتخم ادوم وعربيا ومن قبل اسمه يوباب ..... وايوب كان ابن زارا ابن بني عيسوا ..... وهو كان السادس من ابراهيم والملوك الذي ملكوا في ادوم الذي كان ملك علي تلك الارض من قبل بالق ابن باعور واسم مدينته دنابا ومن بعده يوباب هذا الذي يسمي ايوب۞

Syriac version, by identity, at once, of name, and of position, proves itself the same with the *Thauba* of Ptolemy; a city of Arabia Deserta, in or near his *Ausitis*. While both *Daihab* and *Thauba*, by the same evidence of name and site, become identified, in turn, with *O'Daïb*, a well-known town, which stands alone in the heart of the al Dahna, or great northern desert, in the direction of Chaldea and the Euphrates.

These coincidences, so independent, yet so exact, are sufficiently striking in themselves: they are rendered more so, by a fresh and concluding circumstance of proof. The tenacity with which the Arab tribes cling to the seats of their forefathers has been exemplified *ex abundanti* in this memoir. The circumstance which completes the identification of Dinhabah or Daihab with O'Daïb, stands one more example of this point of native character. The Jobab of Genesis, we read, was succeeded at *Dinhabah* by "Husham, of the land of *Temani*;" and *O'Daïb*, we learn from d'Anville, is, to this day, the chief town of the *Temanites*, or *Beni Temin*.

THE SETTLEMENTS OF JOB IN ARABIA. — But the recovery of the *Dinhabah* or *Daihab* of Genesis, in the *Thauba* of Ptolemy, and the *O'Daïb* of d'Anville, leads to results far beyond the mere local restoration. It is vitally connected

with our next inquiry, after possible vestiges of the posterity of Job in Arabia in after-times. This inquiry is suggested by the whole analogy of Scripture; which, in the patriarchal times especially, usually, if not uniformly, connects the gift, or promise, of posterity, with the continuance of that posterity; and its enlargement into families, or nations. Where this, however, is the ordinary rule, one of the last exceptions to it we could look to meet with, would be the case of that "man of God," the patriarch of Uz. And inquiry, accordingly, however late, after *his* posterity, seems to be rewarded with success, at the first step, in connection with that very city of Thauba or O'Daïb, which has been already identified with Job's presumed residence, Daihab or Dinhabah. For (as will at once be seen on reference to his Arabia) the *Thauba* of Ptolemy is the capital of his *Agubeni*... a name taken literally from the Arabic, *Beni Ayub*, or "the sons of Job." *

This clear and commanding vestige, not of the name only, but of the posterity, also, of Job, in the classical geography of Arabia, is succeeded and sustained by corresponding marks in our modern maps of the peninsula: by *Nebi Ayub*,

* It is needless to dwell, here, on the historical value of names of places and people in Arabia. They are the surest guides of national history throughout the East.

or "the prophet Job," the name of a town on the Euphrates; and by *Djebel Ayub*, or "the Mount of Job," that of a lofty peak, immediately south of the Sobh mountain in Hedjaz.

But, while the identity of the *Agubeni* or *Beni Ayub* of Ptolemy with the posterity of *Job*, may safely be inferred from the analogy of Scripture, coupled with their national patronymic, the proof of this identity rests upon still surer foundations, the concluding words of the Book of Job itself: "After this lived Job an hundred and forty years; and saw his sons, *and his sons sons, even four generations.*" For the Arab patriarch who, in that early age, had thus lived to see the posterity of seven sons to the fourth generation, had *ipso facto* himself already lived to see his family expand into a tribe or nation. When, therefore, we meet, in the classical geography of Arabia, a people named Agubeni, in the neighbourhood of the land of Uz, it is only in conformity with every law of national descent, that we recognize, in that name and people, "THE SONS OF JOB."

Nor are the scriptural indications of that first of patriarchal blessings, a numerous posterity, confined to the sons of Job: as in the analogous cases of Sarah, Hagar, and Keturah, the blessing is extended to his daughters; and most remark-

ably; since, while his seven sons are left *unnamed*, his three daughters are specially distinguished *by name*, as co-heirs with their brethren. The distinction here (at once so marked and unexpected), the significancy of Scripture language taken into account, we well may rest assured is not without a difference. And the difference which most naturally suggests itself is plainly this, . . . that the daughters of Job should not only become the mothers of nations, but that they should "call their lands after their own names." Whether the names of Job's younger daughters may still live, . . . that of *Keziah*, in the *Kissæi*, and *Kissia*, of Ptolemy, a people and province east of the Euphrates and Tigris, or in the modern Khuzistan, or else in *Kazuan*, and the *Kassanitæ*, on the coast of Hedjaz; and that of *Keren Happuch*, in the town of *Korna*, and people of the *Abucaei** at the head of the Persian Gulf, . . . I will not undertake to determine. But the name of the eldest daughter, *Iemima*, stands so accurately represented by that of *Iemima* or *Iemama*, the central province of the Arabian peninsula, that (the known origin of most names of localities in Arabia considered) the evidence of the probable derivation would be

* *Abucæi* is the Arabic for *Hapucæi*: the sound of *p* does not exist in the Arabic language.

good, did it rest on the coincidence of name alone. In the instance of the province of Iemama, however, it so fortunately happens, we possess the wholly independent evidence of native tradition, as to the territorial appellation having had its origin in *a female proper name*. The historical fact, that some kingdoms of Arabia were anciently governed by female sovereigns is familiar to all. The province of *Iemama* is specially mentioned, by the Arabs themselves, as an example in point. And (without the most distant reference to the daughter of Job) an Arab tradition of immemorial standing has preserved and handed down to us the further fact, that this province originally derived its name, *Iemama* (or "*the dove*"), from *Queen Iemama*, the first sovereign of the land.* That this ancient Arab queen was no other than Iemima, the eldest daughter of Job†, is a conclusion, so na-

* "Iemama pars Arabiæ ad mare Persicum, è regione Mecchæ. *Nomen habet â Iemama, Regina Arabum, quæ imperavit in illis locis.*" — (Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. Op. tom. iii. f. 134.)

"*Iemamitæ* dicuntur... à Regina quadam *Iemama*, in illis locis celeberrima...." Geographus ibidem [ap. Giggeium scil.]; "Terræ Omân confinis est terra *Iemamæ*, è cujus urbibus est Hagiar, modò diruta, quam tamen antea *Regina Iemama*, ætatis suæ tempore, habitavit." — Ib. ut supr. f. 134.

† ישם האחת ימימה. (Job, xlii. 14.) אלימה אלמלכה. (Geogr. anon. sub Constantino, ap. Bochart, ut supr. f. 134.) The names are identical. It is singular that so acute an observer of names should have missed the obvious identification of this queen Iemama, with Iemima, the daughter of Job.

tural in itself, so conformable with the analogy of the patriarchal blessings, and so confirmed by the ascertained existence, in or near the land of *Uz*, of a people named the *Agubeni*, *Beni Ayub*, or *sons of Job*, as (in the judgment at least of the present writer) to shed a pleasing light upon the crowning blessings, with which, in the Book of Job, God was pleased to reward the faith, the patience, and the "good old age," of the patriarch of Uz.

With the recovery of the preceding vestiges of the family of Job, we take leave of the patriarchal settlements of Arabia: a subject of inquiry, to which the author sat down in the humble hope of elucidating the Mosaic records; and from which he rises with the calm consciousness, that, however imperfect his labours, something has still been done towards enlarging the evidences of revealed religion. Nor in the prosecution of this inquiry (may it be permitted him to add), amidst its many points of high and various interest, has he found any, to his own mind, more interesting than its close, ... than the joint evidences supplied, by classical geography and Arab tradition, in support of the elevating belief, that Job, like his countryman Jonadab the son of Rechab, "SHALL NOT WANT A MAN TO STAND BEFORE GOD FOR EVER."

SECTION VI.

VESTIGES OF ARAB COLONIES, AND ABRAHAMIC COLONISTS, IN EUROPE.

THE question of emigrations, at periods beyond the reach of authentic history, of parts of the great Arabian family towards the west, originally raised by some obscure hints extant in the classic writers, however often adverted to, has not yet been critically investigated by the scholars of Europe. The learned Calmet, indeed, is said to have collected all that can be gathered from antiquity, on the subject of these emigrations *: but his fort lay far more in the collection of materials, than in perception of the conclusions to be legitimately drawn from them. In questions of this nature, however, there is little satisfaction to be derived, from the mere production of insulated, and unsupported traditions. But, if separate, and wholly independent accounts shall be found to correspond with, and corro-

* His treatise I have not met with: having failed to procure a copy of the complete collection of his dissertations, Paris, 1720, in 3 vols. 4to.; which, of course, includes the one in question. It is not to be found in the editions of his works at large.

borate each other; if the traditions of Europe, respecting early Arab emigrations, shall be responded to and reflected by those of Arabia and Palestine; the case, as one of evidences, must be allowed to stand on very different grounds.

In taking up the matter anew, in connection with the subject of these pages, it shall be my object to do justice to the ancient evidences of Arab colonies, and Abrahamic colonists in Europe *, by presenting them to the reader in this converging light; and finding the authority of history in the consent of traditions.

The only direct notice of the Arabs, as among the early peoplers of Europe, to be found in the classic writers, occurs in Strabo; who, in his account of the peopling of the island of Eubœa, off the coast of Bœotia, reckons, as the first inhabitants, "a colony of Arabs, who had accompanied Cadmus into Greece. † This statement carries within itself the marks of its authenticity; since all the circumstances of the case attest the correctness of Strabo's information. For Cadmus himself, in common with his countrymen, or

* On the subject of the Abrahamic origin of the Phœnicians, the reader will find a masterly argument in Brodie's "Science of articulate Sounds," pp. 217—220. For the Punic origin of some of the Greeks, see Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. xii. cap. v., and lib. xiii. cap. ix.

† τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ Ἄραβες, οἱ Κάδμῳ συνδιαβάντες.—Strabo. Geograph. lib. x. p. 447.

confederates, the Phœnicians, is generally allowed to have been of Arab extraction; and to have migrated, first into Phœnicia, and thence into Bœotia, from the shores of the Persian Gulf. But while more general considerations unite to indicate his Arabian origin, his name most strikingly concurs with this particular locality, to prove his Abrahamic descent. For *Cadmus* is simply the Greek form of the proper name *Kedemah*, which is rendered *Kedma* in the LXX, and *Cadmos* by Josephus; and the Ishmaelite tribe of Kademah, we have already seen, was seated in the very locality assigned, on independent grounds, as the cradle of the Phœnician Cadmus; the namesake, and, it may most justly be inferred, the descendant, of the youngest of the sons of Ishmael.

Now, if the tradition of an Arab colony settled by Cadmus in Eubœa, thus preserved among the Greeks, can be matched by a parallel tradition among the Arabs themselves, and those Arabs, moreover, of the race of Ishmael, the evidence of such a twofold tradition, assuredly, falls nothing short of fair historical proof. But a strictly parallel tradition of the Arabs is happily preserved by Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus; who state of the Ishmaelite tribe of the Dedebæ or Zebeyde, "that they were remarkable for

their hospitality to strangers, ... not to strangers generally, but specially to the Peloponnesians and *Bœotians*, because of *their common descent* from Hercules."* Now, apart from the dream of a fabled common ancestor, a clearer proof of national consanguinity could not be required, than is contained in the existence of such a national intercommunity: while the relationship with the *Bœotians*, in particular, thus laid claim to by the Zebeyde Ishmaelites, reconducts us to the adjoining island of Eubœa; to the Arab colony there settled by Cadmus; and to the genuine Ishmaelitish origin, at once, of that colony, and of its celebrated founder.

The establishment of the existence of an Arab colony, at one point of Greece, from the consentient evidences of Grecian and Arabian tradition, plainly argues the credibility of the existence of other Arab colonies, at other points, if

* Δεδεθαι .... φιλόξενοι εἰς ὑπερβολήν, οὐ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου διεκβάλλουσι καὶ Βοιωτίας, διά τινα μυθικὴν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἱστορίαν. (Agatharch. De Rubr. Mar. p. 59. ap. Hudson. G. V. M. tom. i.) Diodorus gives, in substance, the same account with Agatharchides, as to the hospitality shown, by the Zebeyde Arabs, to the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, grounded on a tradition of their common origin. He seems, however, to have had before him other and independent authorities: for he lays much greater stress on the historical character of this tradition: Δέθαι ..... φιλόξενοι ὑπάρχουσιν, οὐ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου, διά τινα παλαιὰν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους οἰκειότητα πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, ἣν μυθικῶς ἑαυτοὺς παρειληφέναι, παρὰ τῶν προγόνων, ἱστοροῦσι. — Biblioth. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xliv.

similarly affirmed by ancient authorities. This consideration attaches a very different value to a curious passage of Pliny, from that assigned to it by his learned editor, the paradoxical Hardouin; who laughs at, as a paradox, an account entitled to better treatment.* Pliny, in the passage in question, records a singular tradition of their origin, as extant, in his time, among two tribes of central Arabia, the Minæi, and the Rhadamæi; who laid claim to a descent, the former from Minos, the latter from Rhadamanthus, the brother legislators of Crete. The claim obviously amounts, simply, to one of relationship (whether by progenitorship or filiation affects not the question) with the inhabitants of that island. The natural inference suggested by this tradition, that Crete, as well as Eubœa and Peloponnesus, may have been first peopled from Arabia, is fully borne out by the known character of the Minæi, according to Pliny the oldest commercial nation of the peninsula; and who, like all great commercial nations, would be most likely to send forth colonies in the train of commerce. The same spirit, which led the Arab traders of the Persian Gulf into Eubœa, under Cadmus, would

* "Tam vere scilicet a Minoë Cretensi Minæi nomen sortiti sunt, quam vicini Minæis Rhadamæi a Rhadamantho. Eo mythologos adduxit similitudo nominum, ut Minoëm in Arabiam usque devcherent. *Id tamen Stephanus existimavit*, verbo *Μινώα*." — Hardouin in loc.

as naturally conduct their countrymen and competitors, the Minæi, in the same direction, to find adjoining settlements in Crete.* In this way we have a clear and easy explanation of the passage of Pliny alluded to: "The *Minœi*, according to themselves, derive their origin from *Minos* king of Crete: the *Rhadamœi* [the neighbouring tribe] are reputed descendants of *Rhadamanthus*, the brother of Minos."† The mythos, in both examples, conceals glimpses of the infant history of commerce and colonization. ‡

* A passage of Diodorus Siculus indicates, probably, the period of this emigration. After noticing three successive influxes of *Greek* colonists into Crete, the historian proceeds: *τέταρτον δὲ γένος συμμιγῆναι φασὶν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην μιγάδων βαρβάρων, τῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐξομοιωθέντων τῇ διαλέκτῳ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις Ἕλλησι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοὺς περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν ἰσχύσαντας, ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγαγεῖν συντέλειαν τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὴν νῆσον.* (Lib. v. cap. lxxx.) The *mixed barbarians* of Diodorus, well represent an influx of Arabs, as it would be viewed by the Greeks. Their subsequent civilization, and adoption of the Greek idiom, it is very remarkable, he ascribes to *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*. Hence, apparently, the adoption, by the Minæi and Rhadamæi of Nedjd, of the notion of their own descent from the Cretan lawgivers: time confusing tradition, until the parent stocks, in Arabia, confounded the history of their Cretan colonists with their own.

† "Ac Minæi, a rege Cretæ Minoë (ut existimant) originem trahentes. . . . Rhadamæi; et horum origo Rhadamanthus putatur, frater Minois." (Plin. lib. vi. § 32.) What more natural than for the Arabs of Crete, and, through them, eventually, the parent stock in Arabia, in process of time, to confound the *civilizers* with the *fathers* of their barbarian ancestors?

‡ "Colonies about this time [after the age of Jupiter, the contemporary of Moses] marched from many countries to find settlements; and Crete seems to have been invaded by some of them, and not united again under one head, until the days of Minos." — Shuckford's Connection, vol. iii. book x. p. 94. 5th edition.

But the Dedebæ or Zebeyde Arabs of the coast of Hedjaz, a branch of the great family of Harb, and certainly, it follows, of Ishmaelitish origin, treated with hospitality, as their brethren by descent, not the Bœotians only, but also the Peloponnesians. Now it is most remarkable that, while the former relationship is clearly made good by the testimony of Strabo to the settlement of an Arab colony in Eubœa, (followers of Cadmus, and, therefore, most probably Ishmaelites of the tribe of Kedemah from the Persian Gulf,) the latter is not less decisively established from a different quarter, the history of the Maccabees; where is recorded the formal claim of national relationship with the Peloponnesians, (noticed, we have seen, independently, by Agatharchides and Diodorus, in the case of the Abrahamic stock of the Dedebæ Arabs,) as advanced by the Jews, and acknowledged by the Lacedæmonians; and made the basis of an alliance between the two states. The documents will speak for themselves.

"And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote unto the Lacedæmonians: 'Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedæmonians *their brethren*, send greeting: There were letters sent,

in times past, unto Onias the high priest, from Arius, who reigned then among you, *to signify that ye are our brethren*, as the copy here underwritten doth specify. At which time, Onias entreated honourably the ambassador who was sent, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship. Therefore we, also, albeit we need none of these things, for that we have the holy books of Scripture in our hands to comfort us, have, nevertheless, attempted to send unto you, for the renewing of *brotherhood* and friendship, lest we should become strangers unto you altogether: for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us. We therefore, at all times, without ceasing, both in our feasts and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as is right, and *as it becometh us to think upon our brethren*: and we are right glad of your glory. But as for us, many troubles, and many wars, have environed us; forsomuch as the kings who are round about us have fought against us. Howbeit, we would not be troublesome unto you, nor to others of our confederates and friends in these wars: for we have help from Heaven; which succoureth us, so that we are delivered from our enemies, and our enemies are humbled. For this cause, we

have chosen Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, and sent them unto the Romans, to renew the amity which we had with them, and the former league. We commanded them, also, to go unto you, and to salute you; and to deliver you our letters *concerning the renewing of our brotherhood.* Wherefore now ye shall do well to give us an answer thereto.'"—"And this is the copy of the letters which Arius sent to Onias. 'Arius, king of the Lacedæmonians, to Onias the high priest, greeting: *It is found in writing, that the Lacedæmonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham:* now, therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your welfare. We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are ours, and ours are yours. We do command, therefore, our ambassadors to make report unto you on this wise.'" *

We have now before us a triple chain of evi-

* 2 Maccab. xii. (Dr. Cotton's version.) The relationship, thus claimed and acknowledged directly, comes out, quite incidentally, in the 3d book; where Jason, the brother of the high priest Onias, driven, successively, out of Judæa and Arabia, is stated to have sought his last refuge among his *kinsmen* the Lacedæmonians: "Thus he, who had driven many out of their country, perished in a strange land, retiring to the Lacedæmonians, and thinking *there* to find refuge, *by reason of their kindred.*" — Cotton's "Five Books of the Maccabees," book iii. ch. v. pp. 167, 168.

dence, of no ordinary strength. It is composed of three separate testimonies, from Greece, from Arabia, and from Palestine, to the one main fact,... the Arabo-Abrahamic origin of certain portions of the Greeks, including two of their most illustrious nations, the Spartans and the Thebans. The sacred dignity of descent from "the father of the faithful" can derive no added lustre from the profaner glories of Thermopylæ or Leuctra. Yet, to the classical scholar it may be an interesting reflection, and even to the Christian philosopher no unpleasing thought, that the blood of Abraham flowed in the veins of Leonidas and Epaminondas.

The fact thus attested, we are led further to observe, rests not on the consent only of the national traditions: in each of the three countries, it was regarded and acted on, as the basis of international intercourse, and the foundation of international alliances. Had the notion of this common origin been confined to the Greeks alone, it might (fairly enough perhaps) have been set down to the account of their mythical propensities; their love of the marvellous and mysterious; and their desire to find their origin, where they sought their philosophy, in the cradle of mankind, the venerated regions of the East. Had it been found among the Arabs

only, it might be classed, not unnaturally (to borrow the language of the Koran), among "the fables of the ancients;" those fond and vain traditions, which Mahomet was justly charged, by his enemies, with reviving among his credulous countrymen. Had it originated exclusively with the Jews, its reception will easily be anticipated: however unjustly, it would, to a moral certainty, be treated, as the attempt of a degraded and despised race, to engraft on their "endless genealogies" the names of nations then the most illustrious of the earth.* But, where Greeks, Arabs, and Jews, thus bear witness, as with one voice, to the fact of their mutual consanguinity, the tradition of that consanguinity plainly could have had its rise only at the fountain-head of history and truth.

* Yet, even in this view, the statement of the historian of the Maccabees will stand strongly on its own merits. The authenticity of the claim preferred may justly be measured by consideration of the claim forborne. The author tells of two embassies from the Jews; the one to the Lacedæmonians, the other to the Romans. Now, had the Jewish people desired to gratify their vanity, or promote their interests, by unfounded claims of kindred, assuredly those claims would have been advanced, *not* at *Sparta*, but at ROME. The fact, that no pretensions to relationship occur in their letters to the Romans, becomes thus a voucher for the justness of the claim preferred to kindred with the Lacedæmonians.

SECTION VII.

HADRAMÛTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

THE problem, to which in part we owe the Arabian voyage of Carsten Niebuhr and his colleagues, as to the existence of inscriptions in Yemen or Hadramáut, in an unknown character *, and lost language, has at length, and most unexpectedly, been solved. What the Danish travellers sought after in vain, has been found by the enterprize of British officers. Inscriptions, on whose remote antiquity there cannot rest the shadow of a doubt, in one and the same as yet undecyphered character, have been successively discovered, cut on stones brought from the famous Mâreb, at Sanaa; carved in stone, within the entrance of the newly-disclosed ruins

* The مسند, *Musnid*, or *Himjaritic*. (See Richardson's Arab. and Pers. Dict. under the word.) The jealous restrictions, imposed on the use of their written characters by the ancient Hamyarites, are noticed by Pocock. These restrictions explain well, both the non-existence of MS. remains, and the rarity even of inscriptions, in the Hamyaritic. "Characteres eorum .... vulgo discere non permittebant; nec cuipiam, nisi post impetratam ab ipsis veniam, iisdem utendi facultatem." (Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 161.) The motive, not improbably, was similar to that which actuated the Egyptian priesthood.

of Nakab el Hajar; and deeply engraven on the face of the smoothed and solid rock, at Hisn Ghorab.* In all these inscriptions, the size,

* From Captain Haines's unpublished Journal of the survey it appears that other inscriptions, in the same characters, were discovered in this neighbourhood, by officers of the Palinurus. But it does not appear that they were copied. "At this place [Messenaat] a party of officers, consisting of Lieutenant J. P. Sanders, Dr. J. Hulton, and Mr. Smith, left the Palinurus, and proceeded several miles inland; where they were fortunate enough to discover *many inscriptions* (similar to those of Hussan Ghorâb) to the E. of Wadee Shekowee, about twelve miles distant from Messenaat, and three miles from the village and grove of Mayokee." (MS. Journal.) Further east, near Ras Baughat-Shaw (long. 50° 9′ 30″ east) this officer notices the limestone mountain named Gebel Hummoom, "in the vicinity of which, *many curious specimens of hieroglyphics still exist.*" He adds, more correctly, "the inscriptions are of *the same character*, as those discovered by our party at Hussan Ghorâb." (Ib.)

With regard to the language and character of these inscriptions, I shall only observe, that we might as well question, at once, the existence of the Hamyaritic tongue, as entertain a doubt that the whole of them (exhibiting the same alphabet, from the longitude of Aden to that of Cape Baughat-Shaw, along a space of more than five degrees) are genuine relics of that tongue, the ancient language of the country. Of this language, so long supposed lost, what little was known to the Mahometan writers has been gleaned by our great Pocock. (Spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 155—161.) From them we gather, that it was styled, by the Arabs, عربية حميرٍ (the Arabic of Hamyar), in contradistinction from the عربية قريش (the Arabic of the Koreish); that its written character was termed القلم الحميري (the pen of Hamyar); and, so far as a judgment can be formed from the sense of one word, ثب *Theb*, (signifying, in the Hamyaritic, *sit down*, but, in the northern Arabic of the period, *leap down*,) that it had a near affinity to the Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee dialects, in each of which the word *Isheb*, *Itheb*, or *Theb*, has the former signification. I must add, however, what Dr. Pocock, singularly enough, has omitted to remark, that, in the modern Arabic, ثب is understood in the Hamyaritic sense, and in it only. Can

depth, and regularity of the letters bespeak a skill and care in the execution, admirably fitted to attain the object which they have attained, (an object, as we gather from Job, xix. 24., uppermost in contemplation in the earliest ages,) to set at defiance the ravages of time. Both at Nakab el Hajar, and at Hisn Ghorab, the character of the ruins confirms these marks of high antiquity: in the former remains, by "the same inclination in the walls, the same form of entrance, and the same flat roof of stones," which belong "to the edifices found among Egyptian ruins;" and in both, by the total absence of arches and columns.

The possible connection of the mysterious inscriptions in Hadramáut with the subject of the present work could not escape my attention. With however little hope of decyphering them, I carefully examined the characters *; and found

the fatal accident, said to have arisen from its double sense, have had any thing to say to this change of signification?

* The incorrectness of Pocock's information respecting the Hamyaritic character betrays the gross ignorance, on this subject, of his only guides, the Mahometan writers. His account of it is as follows: — "Characteres eorum [Hamyarensium] ab illis quibus utuntur Arabes multum diversi; quod genus scripturæ المسند, al Mosnad, vocabant, *literis inter se implexis, minimeque distinctis.*" Nothing can be more opposite than this description to the facts of the case, as ascertained from the inscriptions recently brought to light in Yemen and Hadramáut. Instead of the letters in those inscriptions being intertwined among themselves, and altogether indistinct, with one or two exceptions, no two are tied together.

the theory of the affinity of the language to which they belonged with the Ethiopic, hastily broached by Mr. Wellsted, and as hastily adopted by others, to my apprehension at once give way, before the first close inspection. For, 1. the direction of the writing, like that of the Arabic and all its kindred dialects, seemed evidently from right to left; and, 2. for each character presenting a resemblance to a letter of the Amharic alphabet, at least two might be detected bearing an exact correspondence with letters of the Greek. The inference naturally suggested by this result was, that, in the Hadramûtic inscriptions, as also in those discovered at Sanaa, I had before me the primitive alphabet * of a primitive language, some letters of which had found their way, in after-times, into the alphabets of

This is one of the many instances, in which the Arab writers of northern, discover great unacquaintedness with southern Arabia.

Sir William Jones confesses and laments the ignorance of Orientalists, on this subject, to his day. "As to the Himyáric letters, or those which are mentioned by the name of *Almasnad, we are still in total darkness*; the traveller Niebuhr having been unfortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in Yemen, which are said to have inscriptions on them."—Fourth Anniversary Discourse.

* The question as to the high antiquity of the art of writing, among the Hamyarites, which, with Pocock, was matter only of conjecture, is set at rest by the recent discoveries in Yemen and Hadramáut. These discoveries, among their other bearings, are most important, as accrediting Ebn Hesham's account of a sepulchral inscription, of the age of Jacob and Joseph, curiously brought to light in Yemen, . . . by demonstrating, as they do, the fact of the existence, there, of written characters in very remote times.

other nations. My interest in the inquiry heightened by these initiatory "tentamina," I was at a loss where to cast about for further lights; when turning to renew my acquaintance with the collections of Albert Schultens, in the "Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ" of that great Orientalist, I was most unexpectedly rewarded, by the perusal of the following title: a title which, when formerly read, had attracted no special notice; but which, in its connection with the recently-discovered inscriptions in Hadramáut, engaged my fixed attention.

"Carmina Antiquissima, in Arabia Felice inventa,
Super marmoribus arcium dirutarum,
In tractu litoris Hadramutteni,
Prope Emporium Aden."

All the circumstances here, the site, the engraved marbles, their discovery amidst ruined towers, flashed upon me, on the instant, as collectively indicating the identity of the two "Most ancient Poems" here in question, with the inscriptions, in an unknown tongue and character, discovered, by the officers of the Palinurus, at Hisn Ghorab. For Hisn Ghorab is situated on the coast of Hadramáut, on the side next Aden, to which, as the above title implies, it is the nearest station of any consequence in that province. Its precipitous hill is crowned by the ruins of a once formidable fortress. And its in-

scriptions, in strict agreement with the account in the foregoing title, are carved on marbles, or tablets, cut smooth on the face of the living rock, immediately above the ruined entrance towers.

The history of the discovery of the two poems published in the "Monumenta," is fortunately preserved in the work whence they were taken by Schultens, the "Historical Geography" of Novaïri. The *date* of this discovery alone demonstrates, that these inscriptions must have been engraved in a character different from the Cufic, and from the Arabic now in use; neither of which characters was in existence before the time of Mahomet. For they are stated to have been discovered by Abderrahman, viceroy of Yemen in the reign of Moawiyah, the first of the Ommiadan Caliphs, between the fortieth and fiftieth year of the Hejra, or about A.D. 660—670. They were written, therefore, as the inscriptions at Hisn Ghorab are written, in a more ancient, and now unknown character; which, however, as they were able to translate it, must have been still known to the Arabs of that age.* Two circumstances mentioned by Novaïri, 1. that

* In the two poetical inscriptions published in the "Monumenta," we have, probably, only the version of a version: the original translations, in the Arabic of the seventh century, being, in all likelihood (as Chaucer by Dryden), modernized by Novaïri, to suit the taste of the fourteenth, and to harmonize with his own style. Indeed, the uniformity of style observable in *all* the ancient pieces published in the "Monumenta"

the fortress in which these poetical inscriptions were found, had, at the time of their discovery by the Mahometan conqueror, lain long in ruins; and, 2. that, in the seventh century of our era, the Arabs of the country referred them to the times of the Adites * (their heroic age); are evidences of an antiquity, which, antecedently of internal indications, might well carry their date

clearly indicates, that, in the whole of those relics, in their present forms, we possess only translations. The first of these remains, the "Lament" of the last Djoramite king of Hedjaz, ascribed by Schultens to the age of Solomon (Salomonis ætatem attingens), is obviously in Arabic of the same date with that of Novaïri's two Hadramûtic inscriptions. The date, consequently, of the language in which these poems are now clothed, has nothing whatever to say to the question of their antiquity; which turns entirely on their being, what I believe the whole collection to be, versions from the Hamyaritic. That Novaïri himself is answerable for the Arabic of the Hadramûtic inscriptions, as they stand in his work, at least that these versions are not in the dialect of Yemen, is clear from several of the words introduced; as *Aulad*, instead of *Djohâl*, for *children*; *Niswân*, instead of *Harêm*, for *wives*, &c.

* "Duo hæc carmina extant in opere *Geographico Historico* quod inscriptum كتاب البلاد واخبار العباد *Liber Regionum, cum Historiis Dominum*: unde, pro notitia veteri *Arabiæ Felicis*, multa curiosa erui possunt. . . . Inventa dicuntur imperante Muavia, primo Ommiadarum Chalifa, ab Abdorrahman, qui, ejus nomine, Arabiæ Felici præsedit. Inter annum quadragesimum Hegiræ et quinquagesimum id temporis incidit. Arabes hæc monumenta, quum certæ ætati assignare nequeant, ea, suo more, ad tempora *Aditarum*, i. e. vetustissimorum Arabiæ Felicis incolarum, referunt."—H. A. Schultens, Notæ in Carm. supra-dict. ap. Monument. Vetust. Arab. p. 71. — The Arabs were *right*. While this sheet is at press, I have had the inexpressible satisfaction, completely to succeed in decyphering the two lines below the Hisn Ghorab inscription. They contain an account of it; with the names of its two engravers. The people described, *is* the famous lost tribe of *Ad*; and the battle was fought with the Kedarite tribe of *Ac*. See Appendix.

back towards the patriarchal times. Our remaining inferences must be sought within the inscriptions themselves.

The thought of the probable identity of these poems with the inscriptions at Hisn Ghorab once awakened, it occurred to me to try, by a mechanical test, whether the first and longer of the two might bear any internal marks of being a version of the longer inscription published by Mr. Wellsted. To the first step in the proposed experiment, the similarity of the Semitic dialects taken into account, the comparative lengths of the two documents presented an easy and obvious clue. I compared them together accordingly; and the result of the comparison proved strongly corroborative of my conjecture. For allowing (as the relative length of the respective lines requires) each line of the original inscription to represent a couplet of the presumed Arabic version, the two documents exactly corresponded as to length; the Hisn Ghorab original consisting of ten, and its supposed version of twenty, lines: while, on counting the letters in each, the number of characters, respectively, disclosed a near approximation, . . . the original consisting of 398, the version of 446 letters. This correspondence, had it stood alone, would be sufficiently remarkable: at the least, it would be enough to

justify the conjecture, that two inscriptions, in kindred dialects, thus nearly of a length, *may* stand to one another in the relation of original and translation. But when taken in connection with the other indications of identity already noticed, ... with the common occurrence of those inscriptions in the same province, at the same point of coast, engraved similarly upon tablets of rock or marble, and standing similarly amidst a fortress in ruins, ... their relationship may be pronounced no longer matter of conjecture merely, but one fairly made out, from the collective evidences, by the laws of probability. The mysterious original, however, being unquestionably of very remote, not improbably of patriarchal antiquity, marks of patriarchal antiquity may justly be required, in the Arabic poem assumed to be its translation. If I be not greatly mistaken, both the poetical inscriptions published by Schultens from Novaïri, will pass safely through this ordeal: both bearing alike, in their modes of thought and expression, the genuine impress of a primitive state of society; while the second contains an allusion, which, by its extraordinary coincidence with a great event of Scripture history, would seem to fix its date to a specific point of the patriarchal times. Having thus stated my own impressions, I shall submit the evidences on

which they are founded to the reader, in the subjoined literal translations of the inscriptions from Novaïri, with the account of them, as given by H. A. Schultens, prefixed.

POEMS OF THE HIGHEST ANTIQUITY, FOUND ON MARBLES AMIDST THE RUINS OF A FORTRESS, ON THE COAST OF HADRAMAÚT, IN THE VICINITY OF THE EMPORIUM OF ADEN.

POEM I.*

1. We dwelt at ease for ages within the courts of this castle,
   A life without straits, and above want.
2. Rolled in upon us the sea with brimming tide;
   Our rivers flowed with copious fall
3. Among the lofty palms: their keepers
   Sowed fresh dates, by the winding currents of the valley streams, and also the dry.
4. And we hunted the game, by land, with ropes and reeds;
   And we drew forth the fishes from the depths of the sea.

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* PRIMUM CARMEN.

١ غنينا زمانا في عراصة ذا القصر
بعيش غير صنك ولا نزر
٢ يفيض علينا البحر بالمد زاخرا
فانهارنا مبزعة يجر
٣ خلال نخيل بأسقات نواطرها
نسق بالقسب المجزع والتمر
٤ ونصطاد صيد البر بالخبل والقنا
وطورا نصد النون من لجج البحر

5. And we walked proudly, in silks richly broidered with the needle*,
And in whole silks, and in green striped robes.†
6. Kings reigned over us, far removed from baseness,
And vehement against the people of perfidy and fraud.
7. They sanctioned for us, from the religion of Hûd [Heber], right laws;
And we believed in miracles, the resurrection, and the resuscitation of the dead by the breath of God.
8. When enemies descended upon our soil to invade us,
We went forth together, with straight and dusky spears,
9. Ardent and strenuous defenders of our children and our wives,
On long-necked steeds, gray, and dun-coloured, and bright bay;
10. Wounding those who fell upon us, and would do us violence,
With our swords, until they turned their backs.

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5 ونرفل في الخز المرقم تاره
وفي القز احيانا وفي الجلد الخضر ۞
6 يلينا ملوك يبعدون عن الخنا
شديد على اهل الخيانه والغدر ۞
7 يقيم لنا من دين هود شرايعا
ونومن بالآيات والبعث والنشر ۞
8 اذا ما عدو احل ارضنا يريدنا
برزنا جميعا بالمشقفة السمر ۞
9 نحامي غلي لولادنا ونسايينا
على الشهب والكميت المعنيق والشقر ۞
10 نقلح من يبغي علينا ويعتدي
باسيافنا حتي يولون الدبر ۞

* "To Sisera, a prey of divers colours:
A prey of divers colours of needle-work;
Of divers colours of needle-work on both sides,
Meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."—Judges, v. 30.

† This fashion of the ancient Arabs may be illustrated from Burckhardt: it still exists in "the keffies, or handkerchiefs, *striped green* and yellow, of cotton, wool, or *silk*: these the Bedouins wear over their bonnets."— Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 402. Appendix.

POEM II.*

1. We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time;
   Nor had we a desire but for the region lord of the vineyard.
2. Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening,
   Their eye pleasant to behold in their resting-places.
3. And twice the number of our camels were our sheep,
   In comeliness like white does; and also the slow-moving kine.†
4. We dwelt in this castle seven years
   Of good life . . . how difficult from memory its description!
5. Then came years barren and burnt up:
   When one evil year had passed away, there came another to succeed it.‡

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* ALTERUM CARMEN.

١ غنينا بهذا القصر دهرا فلم يكن
لنا همة الا البلد ذو القطف ۞
٢ تروح علينا كل يوم هنيدة
من الابل يعشق في معاطنا الطرف ۞
٣ واضعاف تلك الابل شاء كانها
من الحسن ارام او البقر القطف ۞
٤ فعشنا بهذ القصر سبعة احقب
باطيب عيش جل عن ذكره الوصف ۞
٥ فجات سنون مجدبات قواحل
اذا ما مضا عام اتي اخر يقفو ۞

† "His substance, also, was seven thousand sheep,
and three thousand camels,
and five hundred yoke of oxen."—Job, i. 3. cf. xlii. 12.

‡ "And I saw in my dream, and behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good: and, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them; and the thin ears devoured the seven good ears. . . . And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, . . . Behold,

6. And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good.
They died: and neither foot nor hoof remained.
7. Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God:
His footsteps fail not to be blotted out from his dwelling.

In both these poetical inscriptions, the marks of an early stage of society are not to be mistaken. In the first, the pride of prosperity is delineated under the same imagery, employed, in the Song of Deborah, to express the pride of conquest; namely, magnificence of dress, and its curious manufacture. As, in the Hebrew ode, the crowning prize, assigned by his vain-glorious mother to Sisera, was to be, "a prey of divers colours of needle-work," so, in its

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6 فظلنا كان لم نعين في الخير امحة
فماتوا ولم يبق خف ولا ظلف ۞
7 كذلك من لم يشكر الله لم يزل
معالمه من بعد ساحته تعفو ۞

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there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: and there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land: and the plenty shall not be known in the land, by reason of that famine following; for it shall be very grievous. . . . . And the seven years of plenteousness, that was in the land of Egypt, were ended. And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: *and the dearth was in all lands.* . . . . And the famine was *over all the face of the earth.* . . . And *all countries* came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn, because that the famine was so sore IN ALL LANDS." — Gen. xli. 22—24. 29—31. 53—57.

Arabic counterpart, the height of a prosperous estate is represented by "rich silk raiment of needle-work, and striped, or many-coloured robes." It is the same state of society, which, at an earlier period, led Jacob to express his love to Joseph, by the gift of "a coat of colours, or stripes;" and which, at a later, dictated the Psalmist's description of the king's daughter: "Her clothing is of wrought gold: she shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needle-work."

In the second poem, the pastoral simplicity of the description with which it opens, belongs, most unequivocally, to purely patriarchal times. For the imagery here is literally the same with the opening imagery of the Book of Job. Here, as in Job, "sheep, oxen, and camels" are the representatives of wealth and prosperity: flocks and herds the measure, in the one case of individual, in the other of national welfare. But, in the Arabic poem, the more general indication of patriarchal antiquity thus arising from identity of manners, seems further verified by specific reference to an event of Scripture history, which, so far as exactness of coincidence can be received as proof, fixes the date of the poem itself to a given point in the patriarchal times. For the seven years of plenty, followed

by years of famine, which took place in the age of Jacob and Joseph, not in Egypt only, but "in all lands," is here commemorated with a life and fidelity of description, which preserves to us, in an Arabic poem certainly of very high antiquity, neither more nor less than an abridgement of the relation in Genesis. From the coinciding periods of seven years of plenty, followed by years of famine, to the minutest circumstances and expressions of these wholly independent records, there is an exactness of correspondence throughout, which can be explained reasonably only on the supposition that they are records of the one unparalleled event. Thus, for a single example, while the cattle of Egypt were saved from perishing, only by their being sold to Pharaoh, . . . in Hadramáut, where there was no Joseph to foresee the impending famine, and prepare the provident supply, the entire stock of the inhabitants perished so utterly, that (in the expressive words of the inscription) "neither foot nor hoof remained." I pause on this last expression: it is, in itself, a mark of date. It carries us back, at the lowest, to the age of Moses: the only writer known to me, sacred or profane, by whom it is employed; and that in one instance only. "And Moses

said, — Our cattle also shall go with us: there shall not *an hoof* be left behind."

To resume the evidences now before the reader, as a whole: the unquestionably high antiquity of the unknown inscriptions recently discovered at Hisn Ghorab; their self-evident identity in site, and all the local circumstances, with the inscriptions discovered in Hadramáut in the seventh century, by the viceroy of the Caliph Moawiyah, and preserved in Arabic by Novaïri; the inevitable inference, that these last-named inscriptions, being long prior to the Cufic, and to the present Arabic, were necessarily, as those at Hisn Ghorab are, in a different character; with the internal marks so clearly legible, in both poems, of patriarchal antiquity, and, in the second, of specific date; . . . these circumstances form, collectively, a chain of evidences, significantly connecting the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions with those preserved by Novaïri, as originals and translations; and, not less significantly, conducting to the conclusion, that, in the mysterious originals, we may be found to possess written records contemporary with Jacob and Joseph, and corroborating, by anticipation of more than two centuries, the Mosaic account of one of the most extraordinary historical events in the Old Testament.

Fully impressed myself with the conviction, that the foregoing inferences have been legitimately drawn; and that, in the poetical inscriptions preserved by Novaïri, we possess, decyphered to our hand, the inscriptions in unknown characters at Hisn Ghorab, . . . I have assumed, it may be observed, the existence, there, of a second inscription, corresponding with the second of the two poems; although one inscription only, of any length, fell under the notice of Messrs. Wellsted and Cruttenden. If my assumption be correct, the second inscription (which might easily escape the hasty researches which their hurried inspection of those ruins would alone allow) is in existence, and may yet be found. The question is one of fact, and worth further investigation. For, if another inscription be discoverable, similarly coinciding in length with the second poem from Novaïri, as that already recovered does with the first, the presumption that the poems in question are translations of the inscriptions may be pronounced complete. In a case so deeply interesting, with reference both to Arabian antiquities, and to Scripture evidences, may I be permitted to suggest, for the consideration of those who may have the power to promote it, the desirableness of further examination on the spot. Meanwhile I would leave it with those

more conversant than myself with the art of decyphering characters to determine, whether comparison of the first of the Arabic poems under consideration with the ten-line Hisn Ghorab inscription, as its cypher, may not enable them to reach, by a shorter road, the conclusion at which I have arrived by a more circuitous process; and to demonstrate the one document to be the translation of the other.*

* Since this section was prepared for the press, I have had the satisfaction to be informed by a literary friend, that Professor Roediger's account of the Hisn Ghorab inscription, in one respect . . . the form in which it is moulded throughout . . . perfectly coincides with my view of its identity with the first of the two inscriptions from Novaïri. "Roediger (my informant writes) makes out the document to be that of *persons speaking of themselves, in the first person plural.*" *The first word* (I learn from the same authority) Roediger reads *Sumak* or *Samak*, and renders "*We dwelt*," . . . the literal rendering of *the first word*, in both Novaïri's inscriptions. "This (my correspondent justly adds) is encouraging so far as it goes."

That M. Roediger is correct in pronouncing the inscription to run in the first person plural, I cannot entertain a doubt; since, before I was aware of his opinion, I had myself marked the occurrence, no less than fifteen times, of the sign of the first person plural, *na* or *nu*; and, when apprized of it, on comparing the Hisn Ghorab inscription with Novaïri's, I further found that this sign, *na* or *nu*, recurred precisely the same number of times (fifteen) in both documents, only not uniformly in the same parts of the lines. Its occurrence, as in the Arabic, always at the end of words, decides the question as to the direction of the writing, which is from right to left.

From this strong coincidence, I was led on by the suggestion of a friend . . . that the I in the inscription appeared to be the Hebrew ו . . . to compare the single recurrences of this letter; and to my great satisfaction, though not at all to my surprize, I found the I occurring, singly, *three times*, in the seventh line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription, and the ى or ו occurring also *three times*, in the corresponding couplet and line of the Arabic poem; and followed, in both places, by three single words.

That Professor Roediger was further right, in applying the *power* of the Ethiopic letters, where there was sameness of form, to decypher the

characters of the unknown inscription, became also clear to me, from the one instance in which there could be no mistake, the repeated occurrence of the sign of the first person plural *nu*. And that he was equally right in his reading and rendering of the first word, *Sumak*, I inferred from the corresponding sense of the corresponding word in Arabic *Samk* (سمك), rendered by Golius, "Tectum domus," and by Richardson, "the roof of a house."

Inferring, from the lights which thus unexpectedly broke in, that fuller light was likely to be the result of further examination, I decided, at length, on reclaiming the MS. of this section from the press, and making the experiment of decyphering the whole inscription by the Arabic. In this experiment I knew myself justified by the remarkable facts, that *the word* cited by Pocock, as a peculiar specimen of the Hamyaritic, viz. ثب (To sit down), occurs, *in the Hamyaritic sense*, in the present Arabic; and that from Golius's Lexicon it appears beyond question, that *many* Hamyaritic words are now incorporated in that idiom.

To my own conviction, the experiment, hitherto, has proved successful, beyond my most sanguine anticipations. With the Ethiopic alphabet as a key to some of the characters, and with the Arabic words corresponding in place, and presumed *synonymous*, in Novaïri's inscription, as a clue to others, I find, so far as I have yet proceeded (and the experiment has been tried already on nearly every line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription) such exactness of correspondence between the two documents, as to confirm, at each new step, my anteeedent view of them, as original and translation. My unwillingness to stop the press, on the one hand, and my desire, on the other, to contribute all in my power towards the complete decypherment of this mysterious record of the past, will, I trust, be my apology to the reader, both for this note, and for my decision to reserve the process of decyphering for an Appendix.

In the interval (Sept. 7—Sept. 14.) between the receipts of the proof and the revise of this sheet, I have completed the comparative analysis of the two documents. With the exception of the third couplet, in which the sense is mistaken by the translator, and of a word here and there, where (to suit the cadence) the Arabic of Novaïri departs from the Hamyaritic original, they prove to be identical, word for word, throughout. Among the first results of this discovery has been the restoration of the Hamyaritic alphabet; and the decyphering of the rest of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, and, also, of that at Nakab el Hajar. The Hamyaritic, in fact (as might have been anticipated), differs from the ordinary Arabic, chiefly in a different selection of words.

POSTSCRIPT.

I had already written the last line of the foregoing section, when I lighted on a wholly independent confirmation of my reference of the second of Novaïri's inscriptions to the age of *Joseph*, and to the famine on account of which "all countries came into Egypt *to Joseph* to buy corn," . . . so extraordinary, that, in justice to the subject, I must place it before the reader. The undesigned coincidence in question occurs in a passage from Firazabaudi, after Ebn Hesham, cited by Pocock in proof only (if founded in fact) of the great antiquity of the art of writing among the Hamyarites. Taken in connection, however, with the second inscription from Novaïri, the incident about to be submitted acquires a far different value; since (if, as there seems no reasonable cause to doubt, the relation of an actual occurrence) we have here the record of a negotiation opened, by a Hamyarite princess, with Egypt, . . . and of messenger after messenger dispatched by her *to Joseph* (in the hope plainly of averting the last horrours of famine), with proffers to purchase corn, at the rates, successively, of a measure of silver, or of gold, or of

pearls, for the same weight in flour *; in other words, at any price †: and, on her messengers failing to procure a supply, of her perishing by famine.

The Arabic account of this occurrence I had often perused in the "Specimen;" but, like Pocock himself, without attaching much weight to it. It had been read, only to be forgotten. Those conversant with similar inquiries can alone estimate the feelings of mingled pleasure and surprize, with which,... opening on it unexpectedly, immediately after the inferences suggested by the second inscription from Novaïri had been drawn, and written down,... I found, in this wholly independent document, confirmation of those inferences, at once, the fullest and the most direct.

"Ebn Hesham relates that a flood of rain laid bare to view a sepulchre in Yemen, in which lay a woman, having on her neck seven collars

* The . . . . . *toto censû* non prodigus emit
Exiguam Cererem . . .
of Lucan, with Mr. Gibbon's application of it to the camp of Jovian, may here recur to the reader.

† That this is the sense of the sepulchral inscription in the next page, will be questioned by none, in the least conversant with the figurative language of the East. The ascending scale of silver, gold, and pearls, may be understood as simply an oriental expression for the advances of price tendered; as the "measure" certainly indicates, not the quantity, but the rate of purchase. Nothing, at the same time, has been of more common occurrence in the awful records of famine, than the barter of the precious metals, &c., in equal quantities, for the coarsest food: . . . of the articles of luxury, for the articles of life.

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of pearls*; and on her hands and her feet bracelets, and ankle-rings, and armlets, seven on each; and on every finger a ring, in which was set a jewel of great price; and at her head a coffer, filled with treasure, and a tablet, with this inscription†:"—

In thy name, O God, the God of Hamyar.
I Tajah, the daughter of Dzu Shefar, sent my steward to Joseph.
And he delaying to return to me; I sent my handmaid,
With a measure of silver, to bring me back a measure of flour:
And not being able to procure it, I sent her with a measure of gold:
And not being able to procure it, I sent her with a measure of pearls:
And not being able to procure it, I commanded them to be ground:
And finding no profit in them, I am shut up here.
Whosoever may hear of me, let them commiserate me.
And should any woman adorn herself with an ornament
From my ornaments, may she die by no other than my death.‡

* The fidelity of the costume will be seen ap. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, Planche lix.

† قال ابن هشام حفر السيل عن قبر باليمن فيه امراة في عنقها سبع مخانق من بر وفي يديها ورجليها من الاسورة والخلاخيل والدماليج سبعة سبعة وفي كل اصبع خاتم فيه جوهرة مثمنة وعند راسها تابوت مملو مالا ولوح فيه مكتوب

‡ 2 Kings, xxiii. 17. is decisive for the antiquity of epitaphs in the East. —"Then he said, What TITLE is that that I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah."

From the joint tenour of this epitaph, and of the Hadramûtic inscription with which it so singularly corresponds, it would appear, that no relief could be procured, on any terms, from Egypt.* Could Egyptian jealousy of the monopoly, by the Arabs of the south, of the Indian

باسمك اللهم اله حمـــــير
انا تاجة بنت ذي شفر بعثت مايرنا الي يوسف
فـابطـا علـينا فـبـعـشـت لاذتـــــــي
بمد مـن ورق لتاتيني بمد مـن طـحـيـــن
فلم تجده فبعشت نمد من ذهـــــب
فلم تجده فبعشت بمد من بحـــــري
فلم تجده فـامـــرت بـه فطـحـــــــن
فلم انـتـفـــع بـه فـاقـتـفـلـــــت
فمن سمع بي فـلـيرحـمـنـــــــي
واية امـــراة لبست حليا مـن حـلـيـــي
فـلا مـاتـت الا مـيـتـــــــــتي

* Joseph's share in the transaction would be, of course, merely ministerial. Nor does it appear from the Mosaic history, that his character, as a servant of the true God, at all clashed with the discharge of his duties, as prime minister of Egypt. Thus we find him, as a politician, taking advantage of the distress of the Egyptians, to purchase for Pharaoh the absolute disposal, first, of the cattle, then, of the lands, and lastly, of the persons, of his people; in other words, to convert a limited into a despotic monarchy. The same views of duty to his sovereign and adopted country, which led to the adoption of this course of policy at home, would be not unlikely to take similar advantage of the same opportunity

trade, have "hardened the heart of Pharaoh" against all applications from Yemen? It is certain, at least, that similar jealousy on this subject, at a much later period of history, led to acts of the greatest cruelty, in these very parts. On this principle it is, that Dean Vincent explains the destruction of Aden by the Romans, mentioned by Arrian. "The capture and destruction of this village [city?], a short time previous to the author's age, would be *a natural consequence* of the progress and extension of the Roman commerce, from the Red Sea, to India; and, as Claudius collected a tribute from the maritime towns of Arabia, it is natural to suppose, that he was the Cesar mentioned in the Periplus, who ordered this place to be destroyed, for the purpose of suppressing every power that might interfere with the Roman commerce, or divert a share of it into its ancient channel. It is true this must have been an act of oppression upon Charibáel, who was the ally and friend of the Roman emperors; but far greater sacrifices of their justice to their ambition occur in the history of those sovereigns of the world."*

abroad; and to anticipate the Romans in breaking down the power and the monopoly of the Arabs of Yemen.

* Commerce and Navigation of the Indian Ocean, vol. ii. pp. 327. 328.

Human cupidity, in truth, has produced similar effects among every commercial people, in every age; and the apparent cruelty of the Egyptian government, recorded on the sepulchre of Tajah, in its inexorable refusal of supplies to the famishing inhabitants of Hadramáut, can be illustrated, successively, from the conduct of the Romans, arising from the same causes, upon the same coast, . . . to the more recent excesses of the Turks, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, in their *auri sacra fames*, their thirst to effect a monopoly of the trade with India.

In the epitaph of Tajah, one point of the internal evidences to its reality . . . the mention of her messengers being sent specially *to Joseph* . . . is peculiarly striking; both because of the exactness of its agreement with the account in Genesis, "And all countries came into Egypt, *to Joseph*, for to buy corn," and because such closeness of agreement with Scripture history is altogether foreign from the practice of the *Mahometan* writers (Mahomet himself included) in their fabrications.

The curious fact, communicated to Mr. Cruttenden at Sanaa, that jewels, particularly pearls, are found, in the water-courses in the vicinity of Mâreb, usually *after heavy rains** . . . not only

* For the entire passage from Mr. Cruttenden's Journal, see Vol. I. of the present work, pp. 155, 156. note ‡.

gives the strongest verisimilitude to Ebn Hesham's account of the discovery, *after a heavy fall of rain*, of the sepulchre of Tajah, but also conducts us to the very neighbourhood of this Hamyaritic princess; who hence appears to have been buried, where in all probability she had lived and died, somewhere in the district round Mâreb, . . . a part of the country memorable, in Arabian history, for its sufferings from inundations.

With regard to the sepulchral inscription itself, and the account of its discovery preserved by Ebn Hesham, nothing is more easy than for any so disposed, to indulge in scepticism as to the reality of the occurrence. I would only remind the reader, that the discovery, in itself, is not more incredible, than those which take place, almost every day, of Egyptian sarcophagi and mummies, of equally early date; and that any scepticism entertained in this particular instance is (to make the most of it) of no higher value, than that which would have been sure to be expressed, respecting the authenticity and high antiquity of the two inscriptions from Novaïri, (alleged to have been found in Hadramáut, in the first age of the Hejra, "graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever,") *previous* to the irrefragable discovery of the Hadramûtic inscriptions, on the rocks of Hisn Ghorab.

PART II.

" Ptolemy was right, in this, as well as in many other particulars, in which the moderns have ventured to differ from him. It appears, that the man who resided at Alexandria, in Egypt, knew more respecting the neighbourhood of the Propontis, than the man who surveyed it." — Major Rennell.

PART II.

SECTION I.

CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY.

THE tripartite division of Arabia, so familiar to the Greeks and Romans, under the denominations of *Arabia Petræa*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Felix*, Mr. Gibbon correctly observes, "is unknown to the Arabians themselves;" while, however convenient as a general clue to its classical geography, this division leaves the inland boundaries of those denominations too variable and undefined, to afford modern science any very certain guidance. But when the historian of the empire ventures to express his surprize, "that a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography*," he betrays a shallowness of acquaintance with his subject, strangely at variance with the loftiness of his pretensions to geographical research. The fact is directly the contrary: instead of "scarcely

* Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 222.

retaining a vestige," the whole circuit of the peninsula, it will be seen as we proceed, abounds with vestiges of its ancient geography; which is reflected, almost as in a mirror, by the modern. The bounds of the three Arabias, too, as laid down in the classical descriptions of the country, may prove, on examination, more definite than has been commonly supposed. To the recovery of those bounds, it may be well, in the first instance, to address ourselves.

Among the lines of demarcation furnished by the ancients, by far the most definite are those of Ptolemy. By the Alexandrine geographer, Arabia Petræa is described, as bounded, on the north, by Palestine and part of Syria; on the west by the adjacent frontier of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the mouth of the Heroopolitan Gulf; on the south, by a line drawn, in the latitude of Pharan, (Ras Mohammed, or the point of the peninsula of Sinai,) across the mouths of the Heroopolitan and Elanitic Gulfs (those of Suez and Akaba) to the bend of the latter, or the point of coast under Moilah; and on the east, by a line prolonged, from the termination of the eastern frontier of Syria, to the northern confines of Arabia Felix: Arabia Deserta, as having, for its boundary on the north, that part of Mesopotamia, which follows the

course of the Euphrates, as it runs east and west in the latitude of Beles; on the west, the conterminous parts of Syria, Palestine, and Arabia Petræa; on the east, Babylonia (and Chaldea), or a line drawn through the mountain chain, stretching (north and south) from the turn of the Euphrates near Beles, to the Sinus Mesanites (a bay at the head of the Persian Gulf), and hence, along the Persian Gulf, to latitude 29°, apparently stopping at the natural line of partition formed by the mountains of Nedjd; and on the south, by the mountains of Arabia Felix, from the point of termination of Arabia Petræa, to the point just noticed, where those mountains themselves terminate, below the Sinus Mesanites, ... a description answering exactly to the Djebel Shammar, and its continuation, across the peninsula, to the Persian Gulf. The remainder, constituting nearly the entire of the peninsula south of the Elanitic and Mesanian Gulfs, or of Moilah, on the Arabian, and Kademah, on the Persian, composed the ancient Arabia Felix; which, consequently, had for its boundaries those stated by Ptolemy, viz. on the north, the southern sides of Petræa, Deserta, and the Persian Gulf; on the west, the Arabian Gulf; on the south, the Erythræan Sea, or Indian Ocean; and on the east, part of the Persian Gulf, and the

sea stretching, from its mouth, towards the Syagrian promontory. These limits of Arabia Felix, in substance, coincide, with those more summarily assigned by Strabo and Marcian: the latter defining it, concisely, as the country south of the neck of the peninsula; the former, more fully, as the region included between the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and the Erythræan Sea, and extending, from the confines of Petræa and Deserta, 12,000 stadia, or 1500 Roman miles, to the *Atlantic* Ocean.

From these combined descriptions, it is plain, that, while Arabia Deserta was confined within the limits of the Al Dahna, or great northern desert, and of its borders towards Syria and the Euphrates; and Arabia Petræa, to the parts westward of that desert to the borders of Egypt, including the peninsula of Sinai, and the eastern coast of the Elanitic Gulf; Arabia Felix comprized the three, or five, or six provinces, into which the Arabs themselves divide their country, namely, Yemen, Hedjaz, Nedjd, Tehama, Yemâma, and Bahrein*, . . . in other words, the entire region styled, by the eastern geographers "Arabia Proper."

But, for the restoration of the classical geography of Arabia, by the recovery of the sites of

* Sale's Prelim. Diss. p. 2.

places, and names of tribes, enumerated by the ancients, in the actual topography of the peninsula, Ptolemy supplies a far more valuable index, than any which could be derived from the most exact acquaintance with the area or outlines of the triple division, under which it was known to the Greeks and Romans. This index is to be found in that excellent method of laying down the country, which conducts his readers, first, minutely along the coasts; and, from the coasts, to the survey, more compendiously, of its inland localities. By this method, the less known parts receive light from those more known; and the identity of ancient, with modern, inland denominations, both of places and tribes, is frequently recoverable, by reference to ascertained points along the coasts; whence the inland distances and positions may be computed, by cross lines, generally with good probability, and often with great exactness. The neglect with which these important aids have hitherto been treated, even by the first names in modern science, reflects little credit on their research, and less on their judgment.* Had d'Anville himself, for example,

* To this censure, Major Rennell stands an exception: his testimony towards the close of his labours, to the knowledge and fidelity of the ancients (of whom his opinion rose with his own progress in science) is equally honourable to them, and to himself.

paid more attention to Ptolemy, he would have spoken of him with more respect; and, in consulting him more closely, would have consulted better for his own high reputation. For "the disorder," which this great geographer professes to discover "in a great number of the positions of Ptolemy *," will very commonly be found, on examination, to exist only in his own head.

The following attempt to elucidate the classical, from the modern geography of Arabia, proceeds on the more unpresumptuous principle, of considering the ancients right, until they shall be *proved* in the wrong. Its plan will be a close adherence to that of Ptolemy, by beginning with the coasts, and ending with the interior. Where Ptolemy may happen to have omitted any particulars, the omission will be supplied, wherever the opportunity is afforded, from Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient authorities. Where the details of the Alexandrine geographer may seem to require, or admit, illustration, they shall be illustrated, as occasion serves, from the same collateral witnesses. As the main field of inquiry lies within "Arabia Proper," or the country enclosed between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and as

* "Ptolémée, dont les positions en grand nombre paroissent fort en désordre." — Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 227.

this country (the peninsula properly so called) will best enable us to apply the Ptolemaic method of transition, from the coasts, to the interior, . . . our survey shall commence, as a periplus of the peninsula, from the head of the Arabian Gulf. The classical geography of Arabia Petræa and Deserta, in their more northern parts, has already received large illustration from the researches of modern travellers: the districts bordering on Egypt, Syria, and the Euphrates, may, therefore, be either slightly touched, or wholly pretermitted; while any light which may be thrown, in the course of this inquiry, on their inland localities, will connect those localities, as they lie east or west, with one or other of the gulfs.

Thus much premised, we will follow Ptolemy along the coasts; where his notices of tribes are not confined to a mere muster-roll of names; but where the position of each successive tribe is doubly cleared, by well-defined marks of the space of territory occupied, and by numerical specification, within that space, of its chief cities and towns.

SECTION II.

COAST OF THE ARABIAN GULF.

THE peninsula of Sinai, so remarkable in Scripture history, affords little scope for classical restoration. Pharan and the Pharanitæ, Mahrah and the Maranitæ, or Epimaranitæ, are names of people and localities anciently well known, and whose sites, easily ascertained within that narrow space, are now as well determined, although the names themselves may be no longer in existence. The Munichi*atis* of Ptolemy pretty clearly identifies itself with the desert of *Tyh:* as do the *Autei* of Pliny, with its inhabitants, the Beni *Atye;* at the present day, one of the chief tribes of this peninsula. Without pausing on these, and a few similar verifications, our serious attention is first arrested, in Ptolemy, at the head of the Elanitic Gulf, where the town of *Onne* is now clearly restored, in the recently-discovered ruins of *Aszioun* (the Ezion Geber of the Old Testament); and, again, at the mid-coast of that gulf, where his Modiana identifies itself with the Madian of Abulfeda (the Midian of Scripture). Of the inhabitants of this coast, however, Ptolemy makes no specific mention;

the Thamudites, whose seats are known, with certainty, to have lain *south* of the gulf of Akaba, being the first tribe noticed by him in these parts. The omission happily is supplied by Diodorus Siculus; who has preserved a description of the inhabitants of this coast, as far south as the islands opposite Moilah, under the denomination of

BANIZOMENEIS.

The *Banizomeneis* of Diodorus, are, beyond all doubt or question, the *Beni Omran* of Burckhardt: a strong and fierce tribe, whom he describes as now inhabiting the very coast under consideration, or "the mountains between Akaba and Moeyleh, on the eastern coast of the Red Sea."* The slight corruption, by the Greeks, of Omran into Zoman, (both, as I have elsewhere shown, idiomatic modifications of the Zomran of Genesis †,) does not in the least degree affect the identity of the name; while the identity of character is equally legible, . . . the Banizomeneis being described, by Diodorus, as a race of hunters, subsisting on their prey, and the Omrans, by Burckhardt, as a race of robbers, living chiefly on plunder, and whose trade was war. The two

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 221.

† See Vol. I. pp. 323—325.

accounts present the same national character, in its cause, and its effect: . . .

> " Bold Nimrod first the savage chase began,
> A mighty hunter, and his game was man."

Burckhardt speaks particularly of Moilah and its neighbourhood, as the main seat of the Omran Arabs: that it was so, also, of the Banizomeneis, is clear from the account of Diodorus; who describes the bay which they occupied as succeeded by three islands: a description which exactly corresponds with the bay of Moilah, and the three islands off it on the south; and to no other point. But this seat of his Banizomeneis, as described by Diodorus, was distinguished by one feature, which has exercised the ingenuity of the historian of the Roman empire; and given birth to, perhaps, the most singular geographical discovery, which adorns " the luminous page of Gibbon." For it was, also, the seat of " a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians." * The site of this temple (probably on the summit of the lofty mountain at the back of Moilah) is one of the best-defined positions to be met with in the whole circuit of geography, ancient or modern. It is triply determined, by its location in the country of the

* Ἱερὸν δ' ἁγιώτατον ἵδρυται, τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀράβων περιττότερον. — Diod. Sic. lib. iii. § xliii.

Banizomeneis, or Omrans; by its contiguity to the wide and deep bay (irrefragably that of Moilah) which immediately adjoins the Elanitic Gulf on the south; and by its neighbourhood to the three islands of Isis, Suk-Abuan, and Saludo, (anciently famous, and still well-known,) which lie south-west of the mouth of the bay of Moilah.*

This temple, the sceptical historian of the empire, at one touch of his magic pen, transports (a distance of above 500 miles!) from Moilah to Mekka; and presents to his readers (with high self-gratulation) the account of it by Diodorus Siculus, as the earliest, though hitherto unnoticed, record of the far-famed CAABA! But let him relate his discovery in his own eloquent language. "The genuine antiquity of the CAABA ascends beyond the Christian æra: in describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians.... The character and *position* are *so correctly apposite*, that I am surprized how this curious passage should have been read without notice or application. Yet this famous temple had been

* The position of those islands, in the charts of Irwin and Vincent, before the mouth of the bay, "is most erroneous." They lie below it, and afford it no shelter. — See Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

overlooked by Agatharchides, (De Mari Rubro, p. 58., in Hudson, tom. i.) whom Diodorus copies in the rest of the description. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of their respective histories?" * There is a happy confidence (the triumph of successful discovery) in these queries, which it may seem almost a pity to disturb by the announcement, that the statement, from beginning to end, is one tissue of errours. Instead of placing the temple which he describes, "between the Thamudites and Sabæans," Diodorus Siculus places it, as clearly as language can place, in the country of the Banizomeneis; to the south of whom, he no less categorically and correctly locates his Thamudites. Instead of disposing the Thamudites next to the Sabeans, he interposes, between these tribes, the Debæ, the Alilæi, the Gasandi, and the Carbæ. Errours like these, in Mr. Gibbon, are marks of mental constitution, . . . are measures of the man: the rash presumption of whose inferences is equally conspicuous, in his geography, and in his faith; and whose celebrated resolution of the success of

* "Had I delivered these DISCOVERIES, with an air of confidence and triumph, I should be still more mortified." — Gibbon, Crit. Observ. on the Sixth Book of the Æneid.

Christianity by *secondary causes*, is of about equal value, with his triumphant discovery, in the temple of Moilah, of the Caaba of Mekka!

For the origin of a temple, which, in the age of Diodorus, "was held in religious honour and veneration by *all* the Arabians," we must plainly ascend to far earlier times. The report of the Sicilian historian naturally suggests the idea of a patriarchal antiquity; and this idea as naturally gives birth to a conjecture, which I shall make no apology for throwing out to the reader. Can this temple of Moilah have been the seat of that patriarchal worship, of which *Jethro*, the father-in-law of Moses, was the priest? The grounds of this conjecture are plain and simple, and, therefore, only the more strong. 1. Moilah is situated in the scriptural "land of Midian;" the dwelling-place of Jethro, and of his race. The site, consequently, of its temple, falls within the native country of this Arab patriarch, while its probable antiquity carries us back towards his times. 2. Moilah is less than 150 miles, by road measurement, from Horeb and Sinai: in itself, a moderate space for the movements, to and fro, of Arabs and their flocks; and nothing more than the space required by the scriptural notices of the movements, both of Moses and Jethro, between Midian and Sinai; for these

notices uniformly argue considerable journeys to have been made by both. Thus, when Moses first went to Sinai, we are told, "he led the flock *to the back side of the desert*, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb:" when Jethro, subsequently, visited his son-in-law, and the camp of Israel, at this place, the idea of *distance* is equally suggested, by the statement, that "he *heard* of all that God had done for Moses," and by the account of his consequent journey to meet him; "And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, *came*, with his sons and his wife, *unto Moses into the wilderness*, where he encamped at the mount of God: and he said unto Moses, I thy father-in-law Jethro *am come unto thee*, and thy wife, and her two sons with her." This is the natural language of one coming off a journey; and could be natural from the lips of a traveller from a distance only. The same idea is renewed, by the account of his departure; "And Moses let his father-in-law depart, and *he went his way* INTO HIS OWN LAND."* The *distance*, therefore, between Moilah and Horeb, is a point, at least, of *congruity*, in favour of the probable connection of Jethro, as "the priest of Midian," with its famous temple. 3. The tops of high mountains were favourite sites of pa-

* Exod. xviii.

triarchal, as well as of heathen, worship; or rather, the heathen practice was derived from the patriarchal. Accordingly, this primitive practice has the sanction of the highest of all authorities, the example of our Lord himself; who "went up into a mountain apart to pray," and brought his disciples "up into a high mountain apart," to witness his transfiguration. That Moilah was signally remarkable for the possession of such a site for the offices of patriarchal religion, will appear from the description of Burckhardt: "The position of Moeyleh is distinguishable from afar, *by the high mountain just behind it;* three pointed summits of which, overtopping the rest, are visible sixty to eighty miles off: I was told that, in clear winter days, they could be distinguished, from Cosseir [on the African side of the Gulf], at the moment of sunrise."* That a site like this, was one not unlikely to be set apart for patriarchal worship, and most favourable for a temple "honoured by all the Arabians," may probably be admitted. The only difficulty lies in the historical proof of connection between the mountain of Moilah and its far-famed temple. The difficulty is curiously met, and the required proof unconsciously supplied, in the shape of a miracle connected with

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 349.

Jethro, related by one of the commentators on the Koran: a relation, than which, in its miraculous part, nothing can be more absurd; but which, in its historical bearings, possesses all the character and weight of genuine Arab tradition. The Mahometan legend runs thus: "That, whenever Jethro had a mind *to perform his devotions on the top of a certain mountain*, the mountain became lower, in order to render the ascent more easy to him." * The obvious inference is, that the priestly offices of Jethro were performed on the summit of a high mountain: that mountain-top would naturally become, in after-times, the site of a temple; and, as mountain and temple meet together at Moilah, in the proper "land of Midian," all the probabilities point towards this site, as the scene of Jethro's sacerdotal ministry. This conjecture, as to the origin of the famous temple near Moilah, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, is thrown out only as a probability: the degrees of this probability may be variously measured by various minds. My own attention having been called to the subject by the "egregious blunder" of Mr. Gibbon, I would take leave of it with one of his justest remarks: "let it only be remembered, that those who, in desperate cases,

* Calmet, Dictionary of Bible, art. *Jethro.*

conjecture with modesty, have a right to be heard with indulgence." *

THAMUDITÆ OR THAMUDENI.

Next to his Banizomaneis, and immediately south of the bay and islands of Moilah, Diodorus Siculus places the *Thamudeni*. This people are evidently the same with the *Thamuditæ* of Ptolemy: the tribe first named by the Alexandrine geographer, in his catalogue of the inhabitants of the coast between Akaba and Yembo. But the Thamudeni or Thamuditæ are most obviously identical with the famous tribe of *Thâmud*: once (according to the Arabian writers) seated in Yemen; whence, being expelled by the Homerites, they emigrated into Hedjaz; where their capital, Medayen or Hejr, and their "habitations cut out of the rocks," are still in existence, about one hundred and fifty miles inland, at the back of the coast here in question. The position of this tribe of Thâmud, and the space of coast occupied by it, are defined with great accuracy by Diodorus; who informs us, that the seats of the Thamudeni commenced immediately below the bay and isles of Moilah, and extended for the space of one thousand stadia, or about

* Crit. Observ. on Sixth Book of Æneid, postscript.

two degrees, along the frightful coast between Moilah and Djebel Hassane* (the *Hippos mons* of the ancients). The correctness of this statement we are enabled to establish in the most satisfactory manner, from the separate evidence of Ptolemy; who represents his Thamuditæ as bounded, on the south, by the

SIDENI.†

By every kind of proof, . . . the name, the locality, and the intermingled or surrounding tribes, . . . the *Sideni* of Ptolemy, the next neighbours, in a southern direction, to his Thamuditæ, become identified with an existing tribe in this very part of Hedjaz, the *Djeheyne* of Burckhardt.

* From Mr. Wellsted's account of this coast, it is clear, that the *Bily* Arabs occupy the seats of the Thamuditæ. "On the day of our arrival [at Wej-h] we received a visit from the principal Sheïkh of the Bilí tribe, Sheïkh Amír. His power extends *inland* six days' journey, nd, coastwise, from Sheïkh Morabit, to the southward, as far as *Hasání*. The general appellation of the various hordes who occupy this tract is Bili, and their number is said to exceed seven thousand." (ii. 185, 186.) "Six days' journey inland" conducts us to *Hedjer*, the capital of the ancient Thamudites. Burckhardt completes the corresponding extension of the Bily and Thamudites along the coast. "*El Bily*.—These Arabs inhabit the country between Moeyeleh and the castle of Wodje, and the Wady bearing the same name." (Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 227.) Are the Bily Arabs the descendants, or the successors only, of Thamûd?

† Θαμυδῖται, καὶ ἐφεξῆς Σιδήνοι. The Thamudites were *Saracens*, or Edomites. "Equites *Sarraceni Thamudeni*."— Notit. Dignitat. Imp. Rom. cap. xviii.

For, 1. the idiomatic change of *Djeheyne* into *Sideni* is a specimen of anagrammatic transposition too easy and obvious, to leave any rational doubt (all other circumstances concurring) as to the identity of the classical with the Arabic proper name. 2. The Sideni are located, by Ptolemy, south of his Hippos mons, in the direction of Iambia; and the Djeheyney were found, by Burckhardt, occupants of this very site, or of the line of coast from Djebel Hassane to Yembo. 3. The Sideni are described, by Ptolemy, as adjoined, or followed, by the *Darræ*, the *Banubari*, and the *Arsæ*: the name and site of the *Darræ* are preserved in *el Khedheyre*, the frontier town of the great Harb nation, in the vicinity of Yembo; those of the *Banubari* (or sons of the wells) in the watering-station of *Bar-eedy* (or "the wells of Edom"), on the coast immediately west of the Djeheyne Arabs; and those of the *Arsæ*, with fair probability, in the *Ausara* of Ptolemy, and *el Szafra* of Burckhardt, a town and fertile valley, near Yembo, belonging to the Harb Arabs, a tribe (as will presently be seen) distinguished from the Djeheyne, as a separate and hostile race. All the circumstances, . . . of name, locality, and neighbourhood, . . . thus concur to prove the ancient Sideni, and modern Djeheyney, to be one and the same tribe. The fol-

lowing passage of Burckhardt supplies us with a full account of the actual positions, strength, and character of this tribe: his account illustrates, at every point, Ptolemy's position of the Sideni:—

"To the south of Djebel Hassany (northward of Yembo, as above described,) *begin* the dwelling-places of the great tribe of *Djeheyne*, extending along the sea-coast as far as below Yembo, and eastward to Hedye, a station of the Syrian Hadj road. From Yembo, in the direction of Medinah, these Djeheyne possess the ground to a distance of about twelve or fifteen hours. The cultivated valleys of *Yembo el Nakhel* also belong to them. Part of this tribe are cultivators, but the greater number continue Bedouins. They constitute the chief portion of the population of Yembo; and although they possess but a few horses, it is said that they can muster a force amounting to eight thousand matchlocks. *They are constantly at war with the neighbouring tribe of Beni Harb* [a state of feud in Arabia indicative, if not demonstrative, of distinctness of race]; through whose assistance the Wahaby chief, Saoud, was enabled to subjugate them, while all the other tribes above mentioned, southward of Akaba, had invariably refused to submit; and Saoud had not thought it expedient to attack them in their mountains, contenting himself with de-

taching, occasionally, some plundering parties against them. The Djeheynes nominally acknowledge the supremacy of the Sherif of Mekka: they proved very serviceable to the Pacha of Egypt, at the taking of Medinah, in the year 1812."*

BANUBARI.

The name *Banubari*, or *sons of the wells*, that of a tribe placed by Ptolemy next his Sideni, at once fixes the position of this people at the station of *Bar-eeda*, or *the wells of Edom*†, upon the coast, west of *Nabt;* a seat of the Napatei of Ptolemy, and the last frontier town, towards the south, of Arabia Petræa properly so called. The Banubari of Ptolemy are followed by his

ARSÆ.

This people, the last of the tribes enumerated by Ptolemy, as occupants of the country (proceeding from north to south) between the Ela-

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 229, 230. Compare "Travels in Arabia," vol. ii. p. 336. Difference of race is here strongly marked, in the inveterate hostility between the Djeheyne and the Harbs.

† Adjoining these wells, south of the Chersonesus Akra of Ptolemy, lay the port of *Charmothus*, described by Diodorus, and correctly identified by d'Anville with that of *Sharm*. *Charmothus*, indeed, is simply the Arabic compound شرم - موان "The port of Sherm."

nitic Gulf and Iambia or Yembo, are, apparently, the inhabitants of his Ausara, or of Szafra and Souk es Szafra; and, if so, must have lain, not to the south, but inland, or to the east of the Banubari. That they must so have lain, will be brought to demonstration, when we cross with Ptolemy, at this latitude, the frontier of the Nabatheans, and find ourselves, at once, in the territory of another people.

CINÆDOCOLPITÆ, DEBÆ, OR DEDEBÆ.

The first of these appellatives is obviously not the name, but the nickname, of the Arab tribe to whom it is applied by Ptolemy. The proper name of this tribe (as pronounced by the Greeks), *Debæ* or *Dedebæ* *, has been preserved by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. That by which they were known to Ptolemy, on the other hand, was self-evidently a stigma bestowed by Greek traders, to mark the softness and effeminacy of their manners. Summary proof of the inferred identity of the Cinædocolpitæ with the Dedebæ is to be found in their occupation of the same tract of country, or of the line of coast between Yembo and Leith. For, if Ptolemy appears to make the Bætius, or Bardilloi river, the southern boun-

* So apud Agatharch.

dary of his Cinædocolpitæ, it is owing to their national name being merged in the *territorial* denomination of a neighbouring tribe, the *Cassaniti*, or inhabitants of Mount Gazuan; the chain of mountains which borders, on the east, the territory of the Dedebæ, south of the Bardilloi.

The Dedebæ are described, by Diodorus Siculus, as occupying the lowlands, or Tehama, lying under Mount Chabinus (or the Sobh mountain)*, and stretching southward, to the confines of the Alilæi and Gasandi (the Cassaniti of Ptolemy). Their territory, he further remarks, is *bisected* by the river Bætius. These marks of position, taken in conjunction with the name, conduct us, with sure step, to the recovery of the Debæ or *Dedebæ* of the classic geographers, in the tribe of the *Zebeyde*, one of the numerous branches of the great Harb nation. The triple coincidence, of name, geographical position, and national character, is such, as to place this restoration beyond the cavils of the most captious

* The *Læmus mons* of Agatharchides. Misled, as usual, by similarity of names, d'Anville transplants *Læmus mons* to Mount *Jalamlam*, south of Mekka. Its site, in the vicinity of the Debæ, with the perfect agreement in the descriptions of this vast and *wood-clad* mountain by Agatharchides and Diodorus, leaves not the least doubt as to the identity of the Λαιμονόρος of the former, with the ὄρος Χαβῖνον of the latter; and of both, with the *Sobh mountain*, as described by Burckhardt.

criticism. The change of *Zebeyde* into *Dedebæ* is one of the mildest forms of the anagram*, and of classical corruption of oriental proper names. The site and character of this people are thus given by Burckhardt: . . . "Beni Harb, in the low country, or Tehama, between the mountains and the sea. — *Zebeyde.* — These are in possession of the coast, *from the vicinity of Yembo, down to Djidda and Leith* . . . . of the Zebeyde tribe many are settlers. The market-place of Kholeys, with its fertile neighbourhood, at the distance of two days' journeys northward of Djidda, is their principal station. But, as their territory is in general poor, they are obliged to seek for other means of subsistence than what can be derived from pasture alone. They are very active as fishermen†: many of them are sailors, and serve as pilots between Yembo and Djidda. Their intimate connection with the inhabitants of the towns of Hedjaz, and the trade in which they engage, *have caused the other tribes of Harb to look upon them with disdain.* A man of the Sobh, or Beni Sâlem, tribe, would resent it as a

* "La permutation usitée en Orient du *daled* et du *zain*, *d* and *z*."— D'Anville.

† Mr. Wellsted finds, in a neighbouring tribe, the Huteima, the Icthyophagi of Diodorus. Their habits, at least, correspond, at every point, to that historian's description. — See Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 258, 259, and 263.

serious insult, if any one were to call him a 'Zebeyde.'" In this description we easily recognize the causes which drew, in the classical geography of Arabia, a line of demarcation, between the Dedebæ or Zebeyde, and their brethren of the Harb nation. In the contempt in which a race of traders was held by their warlike kindred, we may further discern the origin of the opprobrious name by which this branch of the Harbs was known to the Greeks and Romans. Diodorus Siculus, who states the territory of the Dedebæ to have commenced under the Mons Chabinus, or Sobh mountain, describes it, further, as *bisected* by the river Bætius.* Burckhardt represents the Zebeyde, as occupants of the country between Yembo and Leith. It remains only to remark, in conclusive confirmation of the identity of these names and people, that the territory of the Zebeyde (the Tehamah or reach of coast between Yembo and Leith), if tried by the compass, will be found, like that assigned to the Dedebæ by Diodorus, to be accurately

* According to Wellsted, the Bætius can be only a torrent, formed in the rainy season. "The river Betius of Ptolemy is marked in d'Anville's map as having its outlet in this bay [Sherm Ub-hur]. We explored its termination; but there is nothing which would induce us to suppose it receives any other supply of fresh water, than an occasional torrent from the interior." (Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 237.) The remark applies equally to Ptolemy's *Prion flumen*, on the southern coast.

bisected by the Bardilloi, whose real, or supposed, stream, falls into the Arabian Gulf at Djidda.

CARBÆ OR CERBANI.

The people called *Carbæ* by Diodorus Siculus, are denominated *Cerbani* by Pliny. The dealings of the commentators with the latter of these names betray the depths of ignorance in which the learned have been content, hitherto, to rest, respecting the classical geography of Arabia. For *Cerbani*, finding, in some MSS. of Pliny, *Cembani*, and, in others, *Ceubani*, they decide, indeed, from the recurrence of the name Cerbani in the same chapter, in favour of the true reading; but without any, the least idea of its origin or meaning, or the most distant reference to the Arab tribe to whom it belongs. One expositor conjectures the *Cerbani* of Pliny to be the same with the *Kerdanitæ* of Stephanus of Byzantium; and gravely puts the question, whether we are to correct Pliny from Stephanus, or Stephanus from Pliny.* In this seemingly absurd conjecture, he is fortuitously right. For the people, though not the names, are identical.

* "Cerbani.] Stephano Κερδανῖται. . . . An ex Stephano Plinius, aut versa vice Stephanus ex Plinio corrigendus?"—Hard. ap. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. § 32. note x.

The *Kerdanitæ* or *Kedranitæ* of Stephanus*, the *Cedrei*, *Cedareni*, or *Gedranitæ* of Pliny, and the *Canraitæ* of Arrian, (all corruptions, as has been elsewhere shown, of the scriptural patronymic *Kedar*,) represent, *under their proper name*, the same great Arab tribe, otherwise and better known, now as anciently, by their *nom de guerre* of *Carbæ* or *Cerbani*, "sons of war," in other words, *Harb* or *Beni Harb*.

The Carbæ or Cerbani are disposed by Diodorus, not, as might appear at first view, after, but *behind* his Debæ, Alilæi, and Gasandi.† For the Debæ, Dedebæ, or Zebeyde, although, by race, a branch of the Carbæ, were treated, we have seen, as a distinct people, by the contempt of their more warlike brethren, and by the ignorance of strangers: a race of fishermen and traders had obviously forfeited the national cognomen of "warriors," or "sons of war."

The position thus assigned to the ancient Carbæ, must clearly be understood as extending, eastward of the Tehama, the entire length of the Hedjaz, or, at least, between the latitudes of Yembo and Haly (the seat of the Alilæi). Let

* Κεδρανίται.] Iidem hi videntur, qui a Plinio *Cedrei*, lib. v. cap. xi. appellantur. — Edit. ap. Steph. Byz.

† The *continuity* of the Carbæ with all these tribes, is marked by Agatharchides: τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεχεῖς, Κάρβαι κατέχουσι τὴν ἤπειρον. The Debæ, Alilæi, and Gasandi, were inhabitants of the coast; and to touch them all, the Carbæ must have lain behind them.

this position be now compared with that actually occupied by the Harb Arabs, and the identity of the ancient and modern name and race will remain no longer doubtful.

"The mighty tribe of Harb," as described by Burckhardt, comprizing no less than eighteen branch tribes exclusive of the Zebeyde, extends, at this day, over the entire inland of Hedjaz, from Heymedj, in the 26th parallel of latitude, to Haly, below the 19th, a space of more than seven degrees. They compose, consequently, the main body of its population: and continue, like their fathers the Cerbani of old, celebrated, beyond all other Arabs, for their fame in arms.

But the identification of the Carbæ with the Harbs is not confined to coincidence of name, site, and character, in the nation at large: it can further be completed by comparison of the names, sites, and character, of some of its ancient, with those of some of its existing branches. The test has been already tried in the instance of the Dedebæ or Zebeyde. We will conclude by applying it to tribes of the Harb, occupying the mountains behind them and the Tehama: beginning with the most northern settlement near the coast.

MONS CHABINUS.

The description, by Diodorus, of his Mount Chabinus, as, at once, the northern limit of the

territory of the Debæ or Zebeyde, and remarkable (a rare quality in a mountain of the Hedjaz) for its abundant growth of various kinds of trees and plants, leaves no doubt as to its identity with the Sobh mountain, which shuts in the Tehama, or lowland coast, on the north, near Bedr, and whose general features, warlike, inhabitants, and unique fertility in the growth of shrubs and plants, are thus described by Burckhardt:—"We left the well [of Bives-Sheikh] at half-past three P. M. Route N. N. W., ascending over uneven ground. In an hour and a half we entered the mountains, at the angle formed by the great chain on one side, and the above-mentioned branch, which extends towards Beder, on the other. From hence we continued N. N. E. in valleys of sandy soil, full of detached rocks. High mountains with sharp-pointed summits, *and entirely barren*, enclosed the road on both sides. The Eastern Mountain, which here runs parallel with it, is called *Djebel Sobh;* the territory of the powerful tribe of Beni Sobh, *a branch of the Beni Harb.* Their mountains contain many fertile valleys, where *date-trees grow*, and some dhourra is sown. *It is here that the Mekka balsam-tree is principally found;* and *the Senna Mekka*, or Arabian senna, which the Syrian caravan exports, *is col-*

lected exclusively in this district. The passage into the interior parts of this mountain is described as very difficult; and could never be forced by the Wahabys. Numerous families of the other tribes of *Harb* had retreated thither, with all their goods and cattle, from the arms of Saoud; and, while all the Hedjaz Bedouins submitted to the Wahaby dominion, the Sobh was the only tribe which successfully defended their territory, and boldly asserted their independence." *

Mons Chabinus, it follows, is the Greek version of the Sobh mountain. And this mountain we find, conformably with the site of the Carbæ in Diodorus, peopled by one of the most warlike of the tribes of Harb; whose national name is concealed under their territorial denomination. The name of one of the branch tribes of the Sobh, *El Khadera*, curiously connects itself with, and corrects, the nomenclature of Arrian; who places here, and in the adjoining mountains running southward from this point, a people whom (according to the received reading of his text) he entitles

CANRAITÆ.

The easy correction of *Canraitæ* into *Kadraitæ*, authorized by the extant name, in this quarter,

* Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117.

of *El Khadera*, as that of a tribe, melts into one the *Kerdanitæ* of Stephanus, the *Cedrei* or *Gedranitæ* of Pliny, and the *Kedarites* of Scripture. The character of this people, equally with their name, prepares us to expect, in them, another of the genuine tribes of the Carbæ, or Harb. We shall not be disappointed. While the neighbouring lowlanders (the Zebeyde) are correctly represented as peaceful fishermen, his Canraitæ or Cadraitæ are characterized, by Arrian, as a race of robbers so fierce, that nothing, by sea or land, was secure from their ravages; insomuch that their extirpation by the sword, or their exportation as slaves, was the never-ceasing object of the native princes.*

We have only to turn from Arrian to Burckhardt, to discover this ferocious race, "the wildest of the Harb tribes," dwelling in the same haunts, and engaged in the same occupations, rendered infamous by their forefathers in the days of the Ptolemies and Cæsars. "El Owf, the wildest of the Harb tribes, occupy the mountains southward of Djebel Sobh toward Rábegh, and were never completely subjugated

* Τὰ δὲ ἐπάνω, κατὰ κώμας καὶ νομαδίας, οἰκεῖται πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις διφώνοις· οἷς παραπίπτοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πλόου, οἱ μὲν διαρπάζονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ναυαγίων σωθέντες, ἀνδραποδίζονται. διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων τῆς Ἀραβίας αἰχμαλωτίζονται. λέγονται δὲ Καναῖται.— Arrian, Peripl. p. 12.

by the Wahabys. The name of Owf is dreaded as far as Mekka; and particularly by all pilgrims; for they are most enterprizing robbers, and parties of them, amounting to three or four hundred men, have been known to carry off at night, by force, valuable loads out of the midst of the encampments of the Hadj. They are accustomed to follow the Hadj by night, to a distance of several days' journeys beyond Medina, in hopes of cutting off the stragglers."* . . . "About ten miles east of this [Mastoura] is a high mountain, called *Djebel Ayoub*, "Job's mountain," overtopping the other summits of the chain of which it formed a part, and covered, in many spots, with trees. It is inhabited by the Owf tribe. The whole road, from Kolleya to this place, is dangerous, on account of the robberies of these Bedouins; and the caravan never passes, without losing some of its loads, or camels. In the time of the Wahabys, it was completely secure; the Sheikhs of the Harb, and the whole tribe, being made responsible for all depredations committed in their territory. The Wahabys, however, had not been able to subdue the Owf in their own mountains; and a proof of their independence appeared in the long hair which this tribe wore, contrary to the Wahaby precept,

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 237.

which had established it as a universal law to shave the head bare."* The ascertained common site of the Canraitæ and the Owf, along the mountain range south of Leuce Kome, or Yembo, perfects this proof of their identity.

DACHARENI.

The Dachareni are mentioned by Stephanus as a people of Arabia. This author, at the same time, confounds them with the Nabatheans. The certain inference derivable from his statement is this, that the Dachareni were seated in a part of the peninsula, not remote from the territory of the Nabatheans. We are thus directed, and aided, in our research, for the recovery of this name and tribe. And the double coincidence of name and site unites to identify the *Dachareni* with the *Dwy Dhaher;* another tribe of the Harb, adjoining that of Owf, and stretching, behind the Zebeyde, from Rábegh, at the southern extremity of the Owf mountains, to the vicinity of Mekka. The following is the account of this tribe given by Burckhardt:—"*Dwy Dhaher.*—These [Harbs] extend from Rábegh towards Mekka. Several encampments of them are likewise found *in the vicinity of Medinah* [*or*

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 113.

within the borders of the ancient Nabatheans, with whom, in consequence, they are confounded by Stephanus]: they occupy the country as far as Wády Fatme."* It is needless to pursue further this decisive restoration, which completes the identification of the ancient Carbæ, or Cerbani, with the modern Harbs, or Beni Harb, in their branch tribes, from the neighbourhood of Medinah, to the latitude of Mekka.†

CASSANITÆ OR GASANDI.

In the latitude of Mekka, or rather immediately to the south and south-east of that metropolis, occur the Cassanitæ of Ptolemy, the Gasandi of Diodorus ‡, or the inhabitants of Mount Gazuan. The name being *territorial*, it must rest on other evidences whether this people is, or is not, to be considered as belonging to the Harb. § We are,

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 237.

† Three minor tribes, mentioned by Pliny, the *Codani*, *Vadei*, and *Lechieni*, can be brought home to the neighbourhood of the Dachareni: the *Codani* are the tribe of *Kodad*, near Mekka; the *Vadei*, the inhabitants of Ras *Bad* (the *Badea* of Ptolemy); and the *Lechieni*, the Beni *Lahyan*; all adjacent to the Dwy Dhaher.

‡ His Gasandi, however, may be the tribe of *Ghesan*; so named from a fountain between Zebid and Zama. — See Masoudi, ap. De Sacy, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xlviii. pp. 514, 515.

§ The Cassanitæ may have been *Ateybe*; a tribe which shares these mountains with the Harb.—See Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 398.

at present, concerned only with their geographical position; which, according to Ptolemy, lay between the latitudes of *Badea* or *El Beyadhye*, (near Djidda,) and of *Adedi* or *Sodia*, in the vicinity of Leith. Although his Cassanitæ were certainly seated along the inland mountain range (Gazuan) which has given them its name, Ptolemy, it is remarkable, assigns them four towns along the subjacent coast. The allocation is not necessarily arbitrary. For, although the subjacent coast was unquestionably the territory of the Dedebæ, or Zebeyde, the loose hold of their nominal possessions, by all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia, has always left it open to their more settled and enterprizing neighbours, to seize, and secure to themselves, convenient ports, or important stations for commerce.

The Cassanitæ of Ptolemy, are the same tribe, named, by Agatharchides, the Cassandreis, and, by Diodorus, the Gasandi. Their seats are determined by the climate, as well as by the name. At this latitude, in these mountain districts, Agatharchides and Diodorus concur in stating a sudden and remarkable change of climate, from hot to temperate, from arid to moist, from drought to rains; a change marked by a corresponding abundance of fruits, and other products of the soil. Diodorus proceeds so far as to mention

falls of snow, which happily tempered even the summer heats.* Upon this last affirmation, Wesseling sceptically exclaims, "Snows, in summer, in Arabia!" He might have spared his scepticism. The same account of this mountain district is to be found, word for word, in the emendation-proof page of Burckhardt. Speaking of the Zohran country (the very region in question), this most accurate of inquirers reports as follows:—"Grapes abound in these mountains. ... Most other fruits are cultivated in these mountains, where water is, at all times, abundant, and the climate temperate. *Snow has sometimes fallen*, and *water been frozen*, as far as Sada."† This decisive passage confirms Diodorus, confutes Wesseling, and establishes, further, the exact location of the Cassanitæ or Gasandi; for *Sada* is nearly opposite, or in the same parallel of latitude with *Gesan* or *Gasan*; lying under it on the sea-coast. Indeed, the same contrast between the Tehama and the high country obtains even so far south as the latitude of Sanaa. Thus we learn, from another authority, that, "in the Tehama, the heat, during

* Ἡ δ' ἑξῆς χώρα κατοικεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀράβων Ἀλιλαίων καὶ Γασανδῶν, οὐκ ἔμπυρος οὖσα καθάπερ αἱ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μαλακαῖς καὶ δασείαις νεφέλαις πολλάκις κατεχομένη· ἐκ δὲ τούτων νιφετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ χειμῶνες εὔκαιροι, καὶ ποιοῦντες τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν εὔκρατον.—Lib. iii. § xliv.

† Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 377.

the summer season, is intense: at Mocha, the thermometer rises, in July and August, to 98° of Fahrenheit; while, at Sanaa, in the mountains, it only reaches 85°. In the latter district, *it sometimes freezes*, though rarely; and *falls of snow take place in the interior*, but the snow never lies long on the ground."* The note of Wesseling, therefore, on this place of Diodorus, is, (like most similar hypercriticisms) gratuitously sceptical. The Sicilian historian does not affirm *the fall of the snow in summer;* but seems to describe only the general effect of the falls of snow, in equalizing the climate, and so tempering the summer heats. Is not a climate, subject to the influence, at any season, of falls of snow, more temperate, in consequence, throughout the year?

In his geography of the coast of the Arabian Gulf, next to the Cassanitæ southward, Ptolemy places the Elisari. But before we reach their territory, two names of people, numbered by him together among the inland tribes, very plainly intervene; respecting whose positions, and modern representatives, there cannot be a question, . . . the Doreni or Dosareni, and the Mocoretæ.

* Modern Traveller, vol. iv. p. 11.

DOSARENI OR DORENI.

The name, the site, and the relative localities, combine their evidences, to identify this people with the inhabitants of the mountain district of Djebel *Serene* or *Zohran;* a tract which overhangs the Tehama S.W. of Mount Gazuan, and gives name to the tribe inhabiting it.

MOCORETÆ.

Next to the tribe and district of Zohran (exactly as disposed by Ptolemy), on the west, or between Zohran and Mount Gazuan, occurs the district and town of *Mekhra;* bearing in its name the proof of its being the seat of the *Mocoritæ.* The juxtaposition of both names, in Ptolemy, and of both districts, in the actual topography of the country, reciprocally doubles the proof of the identity of the ancient, with the modern places and tribes. The correctness of this adjustment will be still more fully seen, when we shall have fixed the site of the great nation of the *Minæi;* whom Ptolemy disposes next, on the north, to his Mocoretæ and Doreni.

The people of Mekhra are rightly placed by Ptolemy among the inland tribes; for they appear, from their position west of the mountains,

unlikely to possess settlements on the coast: and, from the fact of his giving the same inland location to the Doreni, it may justly be inferred, that the inhabitants of Djebel Zohran (unlike their neighbours the Cassanitæ) were, in his time, without territory, or sea-ports, in the adjoining low country. They still continue so; and are, in like manner, described by Burckhardt, as an *inland* people. "From Leyth, up the mountains, to the district of Zohrán, is a journey of three days and a half.... Mokhowa (a large town, one day from the district of Zohran in the mountains) is the market, where the husbandmen of Zohrán and the neighbouring districts sell the produce of their labour to the merchants of Mokhowa; who send it to Mekka and Djidda."*

ELISARI.

The Cassanitæ, according to Ptolemy, were adjoined coastwise, on the south, by the *Elisari*. There is no mistaking the province and people here intended. The district of *El Asyr*, inhabited by the great tribe of the same name, the *El Asyr* Arabs of Yemen, is the *next* southern mountain range to Mount Gazuan. In the El

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Append. pp. 388, 389.

Asyr tribe, consequently, we recover with certainty, at once, the Elisari of Ptolemy, and the Ilasar of Strabo. Ptolemy represents the Elisari as in possession of the entire range of coast from *Pudni* (or *Gonfode*) to *Ocelis** (or *ol Cella*), outside the mouth of the straits, styled, by the Greeks, Palindromos, and, by the Arabs, Bab-el-Mandeb. The wide-spread rule of the Sheikh or sovereign of Ilasar is similarly indicated by Strabo, in his intimation that the Rhamanitæ, a people who successfully resisted and repelled the Roman arms under Ælius Gallus, were themselves subjects, or feudatories, of their more powerful neighbours, the people of Ilasar. With these notices of the weight and influence of the ancient Elisari, let us compare Burckhardt's account of the political ascendency, in this part of Yemen, "of the powerful tribe of Asyr," and we can be at no loss to recognize the rank and station, among their countrymen, assigned to the forefathers, in those still possessed by the descendants. "The Asyr," he describes, as "form-

* Of this port Mr. Wellsted observes, "The port of Ocelis has been looked for on the western side of this cape [Bab el Mandeb]: a small harbour remains, but we discovered no ruins, or other traces of antiquity." (Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 466.) It was a mistake to look for ruins: a harbour only was to be expected. Ocelis, as described by Arrian, was merely a harbour and watering-station, for vessels entering the Arabian Gulf: κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἰσθμὸν, παραθαλάσσιός ἐστιν Ἀράβων κώμη, τῆς αὐτῆς τυραννίδος, Ὄκηλις· οὐχ οὕτως ἐμπόριον, ὡς ὅρμος καὶ ὕδρευμα. — Periplus, p. 14.

ing the most numerous and warlike tribe of those mountains, and exercising considerable influence *over all their neighbours.*" * This station and character, they recently and bravely asserted, throughout the bloody contest between the Turks and the Wahabys; whose main strength, in the south, was composed of the Asyr Arabs and their allies. In 1814, a considerable Turkish force was surprized, and cut to pieces, at Gonfode, by Tamy, the Sheikh of the Asyr, at the head of from eight to ten thousand of his people. When the southern Wahabys assembled all their forces, preparatory to the final struggle at Byssel, where "*all* the chiefs of the Yemen mountains, and of the south-eastern plain [the seat of the Ramanitæ] were with the army," we find the Asyr Arabs maintaining the place and pre-eminence of their ancestors, the Elisari. "Among the former [the chiefs of the Yemen mountains] Tamy, Sheikh of Asyr, and Ibn Melha, the agyd, or war-chief, of that tribe, *held the first rank;* and *one third of the army was composed of their Arabs.*" † These circumstances mark, in the day of battle, the ancient station of the Asyr or Elisari among the surrounding tribes of Yemen: their chivalrous conduct on the final loss of the day tells how they had acquired and deserved it. "Whole

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 245. † Ib. p. 395.

parties of the Asyr Arabs were found upon the mountains, tied with ropes together by the legs. On parting from their families, they had all sworn by the divoree (an oath common among Bedouins, and strictly observed) not to fly before the Turks, and, if possible, to return victorious. Being unsuccessful in battle, they resolved, at least, to prevent each other from running away. They fought as long as their ammunition lasted, and were then cut to pieces."* The character of the Arab tribes never changes. A race like

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 400. Burckhardt, in relating this occurrence, has overlooked the interesting fact, that the Asyr Arabs, in thus devoting themselves to certain death, obeyed only the dictates of immemorial national heroism. Niebuhr has preserved the custom, here so fearfully carried into practice. "Les Arabes d'*Yemen* ont une singulière façon de montrer leur valeur dans une bataille. Celui qui veut donner *la plus grande preuve* de zèle dans le service de son maître, *s'attache la jambe*, toute recourbée, *et fait feu*, jusques à ce que les ennemis se retirent, *ou que*, ses propres camarades l'abandonnant, *il soit massacré*. J'entendis raconter à Loheia, que des gens avoient eu le courage *de mourir de cette manière*, dans la bataille qui se donna entre le Schech Mékkrami, et le Scherif Mohámmed, près d'Abu Arisch, et *le traitai de fable*. Mais j'appris, ensuite, qu'un Schech de Haschid u Bekîl, au service de l'Imâm, avoit fait la même chose, il y avoit quelques années, dans le temps que les alliés de Haschid u Bekîl s'étoient avancés jusques à Beit el Fakîh. Ses six esclaves, avoient chargé les fusils, pendant qu'il faisoit feu; jusqu'à ce que abandonné des troupes de l'Imâm, et de ses propres gens, il fut tué par les ennemis." (Description de l'Arabie, tom. iii. pp. 187, 188.) When Niebuhr, not without hesitation, ventured to relate this singular trait of national manners, he could little have anticipated, on what a scale, within the next fifty years, his report would be corroborated. This usage of the Arabs of Yemen well explains the tremendous slaughter of their ancestors the Elisari, by the Romans, under Gallus; who slew 10,000 of them, with the loss of but two men.

this, through defectiveness of discipline, or want of skilful leaders, might easily be defeated in the field: but with such defenders behind the walls of *Marsuabæ*, we need no longer inquire into the causes of the repulse, and disastrous retreat, of the veteran legions of Gallus.*

When Ptolemy represents the Elisari as masters of the entire coast, from the latitude of Gonfode to the mouth of the straits, his meaning is explained by what we know of the Asyr; who, beyond the strict limits of their own territory, govern still, by their influence, the adjoining tribes of Yemen. Accordingly, both in Pliny, and in the modern geography of Yemen, we find mention of other tribes as inhabitants of parts of this coast.

ELAMITÆ.

The *Elamitæ* are mentioned and disposed by Pliny, as inhabitants of Yemen, and as seated on the sea-coast. The name and description answer most exactly to the Beni *Yám;* an ancient and warlike tribe, whose chief seat is in the Wady Nedjran, and who occupy the Tehama, or low country, between Haly and Ghesan. The site and character of this tribe are thus

* See last section of this work.

given by Burckhardt: . . . "The *Beni Yám* are cultivators in the Wády Nedjrán; a warlike tribe, whom the Wahabys could not find means to subdue. Some of their members profess the Persian creed; the more orthodox of them are subdivided into the minor branches of *Okmán* and *el Marra*. There is a saying recorded of Mohammed, that 'the worst of all names are *Harb* and *Marra*.'" The antiquity of this tribe is undoubted; the ancient and modern name identical; the site, as laid down by Pliny and Burckhardt, corresponds. Can further pooof be needful, that, in the Beni Yám (or, with the article prefixed, El Yám) of Burckhardt, we regain the Elamitæ of Pliny?

CAGULATÆ.

In conjunction with the *Elamitæ*, Pliny places the *Cagulatæ*: and in similar conjunction with the *Beni Yám*, Burckhardt mentions "the *Beni Kholan*, bordering on the territory of the Imám of Sanaa."* This twofold coincidence more than doubles the proof, in both examples. The *Cagulatæ*, we therefore may pronounce to be the Beni *Kholan;* who join the Beni Yám, not on the coast, but in the neighbourhood of Wady

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 244.

Nedjran, on the eastern side of the mountains. On the opposite, or western, side of these mountains (the ancient *Climax Mons*), we find, in Ptolemy, the town of *Saraca*, and a people named

SARITÆ.

The *Saraca* of Ptolemy reappears in the town of Ayal *Sorah*, and his *Saritæ*, in the inhabitants of the adjoining district of al *Saruât*: a town and district of the Djebel, or hill country of Yemen, lying towards the west. The identity of name and site here speaks for itself.

TOMABEI.

In his enumeration of tribes bordering on the Arabian Gulf, beginning *from the south*, in the latitude of Hadramáut, Pliny first makes mention of the *Tomabei*. The people thus located must have lain westward of the Saritæ, or of the district of al Saruât; and, consequently, in the *Tehama*. Their location argues the name, in this instance, to be *territorial;* and, for *Tomabei*, I would read *Beni Tehama*, or inhabitants of the sea-coast between Ghesan and Sibi or Sesippi portus, or Zebid. In this lati-

tude we unequivocally recover, in the next place, Ptolemy's

SAPHAR AND SAPHARITÆ.

For the *Saphar* of Ptolemy (the mount *Sephar* of Genesis) is unquestionably the mount *Sabber* of Niebuhr; and the *Sapharitæ*, its inhabitants. The common name, and common position, towards the south-western angle of the peninsula, leave here no room in which the captiousness of criticism can ramble.

CATABANIA AND THE CATABENI.

The south-western angle of the Arabian peninsula, we learn from Strabo and others, was occupied by the ancient kingdom of *Catabania*, and people of the *Catabeni*. Of this renowned people, the name is, in this quarter, singularly pretermitted by Ptolemy; while he makes mention, by name, of their Bedouin brethren, the *Cottabani*, on the opposite side of the peninsula, among the mountains of Omán.* Their

* Καταβανεῖς porro ad angustias fretumque Arabici sinus pertinuisse idem [Strabo] est auctor: . . . *ingenti errore* ad fauces Persici sinus eos locante Ptolem. vi. 7. (*Hardouin in Plin. vi. 32. note q.*) Ignorance, when it wields the rod of criticism, is always arrogant. The Catabeni, or Beni Kahtan, people *both* sides of southern Arabia.

capital, however, *Katabana* or *Kataba*, is to be traced in the Alexandrine geographer, under the contracted form of *Bana*. It would be superfluous to repeat the proof, that Katabeni or Kottabani is simply the classical inversion of *Beni Kahtan**; the great tribe, which mainly peoples, at this day, central and southern Arabia. The inversion, by the Greeks, of this, and of other similarly compounded names of tribes, has involved, hitherto, the commentators in confusion, and the whole country in darkness: while this one simple rectification now lets in a flood of light, from the northern desert to the Indian ocean, and from the Arabian to the Persian Gulf.

* See Part I. § ii. pp. 83, 84.

SECTION III.

THE SOUTHERN COAST.

WE have now reached the base of the vast triangle formed by the Arabian peninsula; and shall follow and analyze, in this section, along its southern coast, Ptolemy's delineations of the country and its inhabitants. Before, however, we can be qualified to do any justice to these delineations, it becomes necessary to rectify the errours, not of Ptolemy, but of Mercator; or of the still earlier layers-down of charts, professedly according to the longitudes, latitudes, and nomenclature, of Ptolemy.

It is impossible to cast a cursory glance over the Ptolemaic map of Arabia, as prepared and published by Mercator*, without, at once, perceiving, that, in the south of the peninsula, especially along the southern coast, great confusion

* Notwithstanding the great injustice done to Ptolemy, in the laying down of this map, it is a remarkable circumstance, that, when I showed it to Col. Chesney, on his return from his first survey of the Euphrates, he pronounced the course of the river, as there laid down, to be a nearer approximation to the true course, than any thing he had seen. Compared with it, d'Anville was most erroneous.

must exist, either in Ptolemy himself, or in his expositors. Thus, a country, comprizing the waterless and wholly uninhabitable desert of Ahkaf, (expressively styled, by the Arabs, *Khalat-al-roba*, "the empty, or deserted abode,") a waste, from east to west, of more than eight hundred miles, and little less from north to south, is here represented as clothed, throughout, with towns, and covered with inhabitants! The explanation of this strange method of proceeding (alike, be it observed, the disgrace of ancient, and of modern geography) has been well given, in a work of modest bulk, and great value, "The Negroland of the Arabs;" with which the promoters of African discovery have recently been favoured. Speaking of the errours of an Arabian writer of great name, the author remarks: . . . "The incorrectness of El Idrisi cannot be explained away, by supposing that he made use of a large scale of measures, or a conventional day's journey of great length. His contraction of space is not sufficiently uniform to sustain that plea: *it operates chiefly on the uninhabited country.* Like *modern geographers*, he seems to have had *an invincible dislike to large blanks in a map;* and, among the expedients to which he had recourse for the purpose of filling them up, *was the common one*

of dilating, as much as possible, the contiguous inhabited country." *

That Ptolemy himself had altogether escaped the influence of this besetting fault of his brother geographers in every age, I will not undertake to affirm: but I am prepared to prove, that, in the chart of the southern coast of Arabia, professedly laid down from his descriptions, the errours lie mainly, if not altogether, at the door of his learned interpreters. The single fact of the erasure of the desert of El Ahkaf, will, at once, disclose, to men of practical science, the extent of the confusion let in, in consequence, along the whole line of the southern coast. That this confusion originated, not with Ptolemy, but with Mercator and his predecessors, shall now be shown, in two most ludicrous examples, at the very commencement of our inquiry.

Sensible of the false drawing of this coast, by the map-makers of Ptolemy, and satisfied that the main cause of derangement lay inland, where the insertion of the omitted desert of Ahkaf would necessarily imply a corresponding expansion of the contracted southern coast, ... my attention was naturally directed, in the next place, to the examination of the chart of this coast, as corrected by Mercator, with a view to the discovery

* "Negroland of the Arabs, by William Desborough Cooley," p. 50. 8vo. London, 1841.

of the points at which contraction had taken place. I had proceeded in this examination about a degree to the eastward of *Arabiæ emporium*, or Aden*, where Ptolemy's *Melanoros*, or "Black Mountain," (a single mountain, marked, in Com-

* About the identity here, no question can be raised. The Arabiæ Emporium of Ptolemy is the Arabia Felix of Arrian; and Arabia *Felix* is simply the Greek version of the Arabic *Aden*. The importance of this station, with its commanding heights, and noble harbours, which mark it out, at once, as a central seat of commerce, and an impregnable fortress, must have been felt in all times. To make it fully understood in this country, there needed, however, a description like the following:—

"Aden bears a striking resemblance to Gibraltar, and could, with great facility, be rendered impregnable. Its rocky and magnificent heights are even more formidable in appearance, and would require, comparatively, but a small force to protect it against invasion. The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden, is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine, this town possessed unrivalled celebrity, for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from every quarter of the world. But how lamentable is the present contrast. With scarcely a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities; and regrets the barbarous cupidity of that government, under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low.

"There are countless advantages to be derived from the possession of this port: that [it] is, unquestionably, the one best adapted for trade on the whole coast of Arabia, is an established fact, both from its natural fitness as a sea-port, and more especially on account of its geographical position. It will be a happy circumstance when the merchant and traveller can find easy access to the rich provinces of Yemen and Hadramáut; where coffee, gums, frankincense, and other valuable produce, will afford a lucrative return for the merchandize of our own country; and sailing vessels be spared the danger and expence of the route through the straits of Bab el Mandel. Aden would thus, no doubt, be gradually recovered from its present servile indigence; and, as it receives from British perseverance the first step towards regaining its former grandeur and celebrity, England may, at the same time, find her own views not deteriorated by the effort.

"The remains of several old fortifications, and other edifices, are to be met with amongst the rugged paths of Gibul Shumshan [the height com-

modore Owen's survey, as at right angles with the southern chain, and therefore not to be mistaken,) runs down to the water's edge, . . . when my progress was checked by the occurrence of two denominations, *Magnum Littus*, and *Parvum Littus*, on the coast between Mela Mons and Caûa emporium, or Caûa Canim Bay, *as names of cities*. These very singular denominations at once awakened the suspicion, that names (on the face of them) meant, by Ptolemy, to designate two unequal reaches, at this part of the coast, of *shore*, or *level strand*, had been ingeniously metamorphosed, by Mercator or others, into cities or towns! The suspicion, presently after it had been formed, was converted into certainty, on my being favoured with a copy of Commodore Owen's then unpublished survey of the southern coast; in which its long line of cliff was exhibited as broken, between "Black Mountain" and "Black Point," by a strand, or sandy reach, of seventy-

manding Aden]. In 1838, accompanied by Lieut. Swan, Dr. Arbuckle, and Mr. Hamilton, I ascended this mountain, and discovered, to my surprize, *that an excellent road had already been made, from its base to the very edge of its summit*, built in a zigzag direction, or (I would rather say) in one continuation of irregular angle, varying from twenty to forty degrees, ten and a half feet broad, and, in some places, raised to the height of twenty feet. *Many centuries* must have elapsed, since this great and skilful undertaking was completed; yet it is extraordinary to observe how slightly it has suffered from the destructive consequences of time. An engineer of the present day might be inclined to question the antiquity of such efficient labours: but I believe *there exists no doubt of the remote era in which this road was constructed.*" — Commander S. B. Haines, I. N., MS. Journal, pp. 44—49. 51—56.

five miles, and, again, between Black Point (a headland dividing the two levels), and Caûa Canim Bay, by a second strand, of five-and-twenty miles in length. By this conclusive restoration, the sense of Ptolemy was restored; the contracted southern coast became expanded to its true dimensions, by the recovery, at a single point, of a space of one hundred miles; and the description of the Alexandrine geographer, in the second century, was verified, in all its details, by our own Admiralty Survey, taken in the nineteenth.

The next point at which I was led to pause, was the famous Syagrian promontory; whence Ptolemy, as misrepresented by Mercator, makes a mountain-chain run inland, in a north-western direction, up the country, for a space, apparently, of some hundred or hundred and twenty miles. The Syagrian promontory, I am prepared to show with Dean Vincent, is that named by the Arabs Cape Fartask; and the mountains, intended by Ptolemy, and represented by Mercator, are the *Djebel al Camûr*, or "Mountains of the Moon" (their name being obviously derived from their form); a chain which, instead of running up the country towards the north-west, wheels eastward round the coast in the form of a *half-moon*, or horse-shoe, embracing a

space of coast little short of two degrees, or one hundred and twenty miles. The certainty of this restoration, it will hereafter be seen, is affirmed, by the circumstance of the chief town of this district (*Thauane*, *Doan*, or *Dumgoal*), which had been carried, with the mountains, up the country, being actually found, at this day, within the horn of the Djebel al Camûr, on the coast.

Thus, by the false drawing of his map-makers, has been lost to the readers of Ptolemy a second space of his southern coast of Arabia, more than equal to that which we have already seen lost, by their absurd misapplication of his nomenclature. By the recovery of these spaces, we not only regain upwards of two hundred miles of missing coast; but, in so doing, shall find ourselves enabled, as we proceed, to restore to their true positions (as laid down in the modern geography of the country) places, and people, hitherto involved in hopeless obscurity; and to perfect the harmony already exemplified, between the descriptions of Ptolemy, and the surveys of Owen and Haines.

By the foregoing rectifications of the southern coast, we are enabled to resume, with an advantage not possessed by our first modern geographers, the analysis and adjustment, in this direction, of the several states, towns, and tribes,

disposed, from west to east, along a line (following the inflections) of at least fifteen hundred miles, by Ptolemy, and other ancients.

HOMERITÆ.

The coast and sea-ports of the famous kingdom of the Homerites are defined by Ptolemy as comprized between his *Cabubathra Mons* (the Ammonian Promontory, or the *Cape S. Antoine* of d'Anville), east of Katabania and the straits, and his *Mela Mons*, from whence commences the coast of the Adramitæ. The space is not more than one hundred and twenty miles; but it includes one of the most renowned marts, in former ages, of Arabian commerce, *Arabiæ Emporium*, or *Aden*. Sure vestiges of the illustrious people to whom Ptolemy assigns this tract of coast are still distinctly legible, in the names *Homar*, that of a district, and *Omera*, that of a town, both situated, a few miles inland, upon the river of Aden.

ADRAMITÆ.

Between Mela Mons* and the Syagrian Promontory, a coast of upwards of four hundred

* The *Mela Mons*, or "black mountain," of Ptolemy, lay close to the sea-shore, and adjoined on the west his *Magnum Littus*. Its name im-

and fifty miles is occupied, in Ptolemy, by the *Adramitæ*. Within this space, among several minor stations, are included two celebrated sea-ports, *Cane Emporium*, and *Moscha Portus*. The site of *Cane* Emporium, we recover in Cava *Canim* bay: Moscha Portus, the last port next to the Syagrian Promontory on the west, there

plies its appearance,... the blackness of a lofty precipice frowning over the sea. If a mountain is to be found, on this part of the coast, uniting these marks, in it we recover beyond question the Mela mons of antiquity. Now these marks *are* united in Djebel Harrasse, or Fouthelee, as described in the MS. Journal of Captain Haines, commanding the Honourable East India Company's surveying vessel the Palinurus. Having been favoured with the use of this document from the India House, I shall submit its evidence on the point in question, without comment, to the reader.

"Gibul Harrasse—about thirteen miles to the east of Shugra. The ascent of this mountain begins *at the edge of the shore*, very gradually decreasing from it the whole way to Mughatayne Zeghir [*i. e.* between latitudes 45° 50′ and 46° 26′, or more than half a degree.]

"Advancing to the eastward, you suddenly lose the bank of soundings, which reaches from Aden to the Fouthelee hill, or Gibul Harrasse; and find, instead, twenty or thirty fathoms water in-shore. Whilst on the bank, the soundings are a correct guide; and when off it, a vessel is equally safe, *with a mountain of 5000 feet in ascent towering directly over her head.*

"*Gibul Fouthelee*, thus named by Arab navigators, and, by the inhabitants, Gibul Harrasse, is *an immense mountain*, or range of hills, running parallel with the coast for nearly twenty miles. *The highest peak is at the west*, and upwards of 5400 feet high, and declining to the eastward. This hill is very remarkable, from an opening like an immense embrasure (which gives it, from the eastward, the appearance of a double peak), from whence it suddenly descends, *so as to fall almost perpendicularly towards the sea.* From Mughatayne to Howah, *it is one long flat sandy beach, and in many parts to the westward continues low* to the distance of some miles inland, *almost to the border of the Fouthelee mountain.*" — Haines's MS. Journal, p. 85.

seems no difficulty in identifying with Kesem, the last sea-port westward of Cape Fartask. It is almost needless to remark, that the kingdom and people of the Adramitæ are the same with the great southern province of Hadramáut, and its inhabitants.

MAPHORITÆ.

Immediately behind the coast of the Adramitæ, where it adjoins that of the Homerites, and upon the Cava Canim river, Ptolemy places the *Maphoritæ;* a third commercial people, mentioned more at large by Arrian, in his Periplus, as inhabitants of the kingdom of *Maphar*, or *Mapharitis.*

In all three instances, it fortunately happens, the notices and positions of Ptolemy are checked; and checked only to be most fully confirmed, by the strictly tallying statements of Arrian: who so describes and discriminates the three kingdoms and people, as to establish, at every step, Ptolemy's divisions of this coast. *Cane Emporium*, Arrian, like Ptolemy, makes the chief port of the king of the incense country, or Hadramáut, then governed by Eleazus, whose capital was Sabatha or Shibam; and whom this

intelligent voyager, conformably with Ptolemy, distinguishes, on the one hand, from Cholæbus, the tyrant of Mapharitis, whose seat of government was at Sava, three days' journey eastward from Musa, on the Arabian Gulf, and on the other hand, from Cheribael, the lawful sovereign of the united kingdoms of the Homerites and Sabæans, whose metropolis, at that period, was Aphar, or Saphar, nine days' journey to the east of Sava.*

THE SYAGRIAN PROMONTORY.

In the arrangement of the coast of Arabia on the ocean, Dean Vincent has well observed, "The circumstance upon which the whole depends, is the adjustment of Suágros." Hurried away (a haste by no means unusual with the great French geographer) by a single expression of Arrian, that this famous promontory "looked towards the east," M. d'Anville has transported Suágros to Ras al Hhad, the extreme headland of the southern coast; and, in the face of the most decisive counter-evidences, has been followed in his errour by most modern geographers. Dr. Vincent, who, in his earlier publications, had been himself drawn away, not unnaturally, by the stream,

* The direction, and the distance, correspond with the site of *Dhafar*.

in his commentary on Arrian's Periplus, with the spirit of a true critic, has had the judgment to detect, the candour to confess, and the courage to retract, the mistake of others, and his own. The conclusion, at which he finally arrived by one process, " that Suágros is not Ras-el-Hhad, but Fartaque," it has been my good fortune to reach, independently, by another: but it is no more than bare justice to my very learned predecessor to add, that he had already set the question at rest. The reasoning by which he disposes of the weak probabilities in favour of Ras al Hhad, arising from the vague expression of Arrian, indicating *an eastern aspect**, and the resemblance of two names, *Omana* and *Moscha*

* Arrian's description does not decide whether the Syagrian promontory lay at the beginning, or the termination, of his Sinus Sachalites. It merely affirms, that this headland was situated at one end of the bay; and that it looked towards the east, as C. Fartaque does.

Dean Vincent supposes a difficulty in the way of his own view, in the expression of Arrian respecting Suágros: ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ κόσμου μέγιστον: observing, with his wonted candour, of Cape Fartaque, " it is not true that it is the largest promontory in the world [*i. e.* in these parts], for Ras el Hhad, on the same coast, is larger." The difficulty is removed by Mr. Fraser's report of the character of Ras el Hhad, which (though *long* in comparison with Cape Fartaque) is *low* and insignificant. " On the 5th July, we made Raus-ul-Hud. . . . Very dark weather added to the majesty of the mountains that lie near this promontory, and which are generally mistaken for the Cape itself. *The true cape, however, is comparatively low*, and runs much further out to sea."—Journey into Khorasan, p. 4.

mentioned by him in connection with Suágros, to those of *Omaun*, and its chief city, *Muscat*, forms one of the happiest portions of his work: that by which he establishes the claim of Cape Fartaque, the most conclusive. "As islands, rivers, and mountains, are features indelible, in these we cannot be mistaken:" resting on this strong ground as the basis of his whole argument, our author proves "incontrovertibly," that "two groups of islands, [Zenobia, or those of Curia Muriā, and Serapis, or the Mazeiras,] both in Ptolemy, and in Arrian, *follow*, instead of preceding, Suágros; which, consequently, cannot be Ras al Hhad: he shows, that, in Arrian, as in Ptolemy, the Syagrian promontory is succeeded by a description of at least seven hundred miles of the Arabian coast; a description which exactly agrees with the site of Cape Fartask, but is altogether irreconcilable with that of Ras al Hhad: while, that the coast delineated is part of the southern coast, is made conclusively apparent, from the description of it being followed, immediately, by the mention of that sudden turning of the navigator towards the north, in voyaging to the Persian Gulf, which takes place at Ras al Hhad, and not before. The position of the island of Dioscorides [Socotorra], as described in the Periplus, *between* the Syagrian Promontory and the

Aromatum Promontorium [Guardafui*] on the opposite coast of Africa (a description perfectly corresponding with its bearings towards Cape Fartask, but wholly out of bearing with Ras al Hhad) is well brought in to complete these otherwise decisive proofs. The seeming contradiction between Ptolemy and Arrian, as to the site of the Sinus Sachalites, which Arrian places to the west, and Ptolemy to the east of Suágros, the Dean happily resolves by a very simple process: the Sinus *Sachalites*, it is allowed on all hands, is the bay of *Sahar* or *Seger;* but there are two Segers on this coast, one to the west, the other to the east, of Cape Fartask; the former is the Sinus Sachalites of Arrian, the latter, that of Ptolemy.† The disorder introduced along the

* جَرْدَفُوِيْ أَنَاوِيَه (literally) "The Mount of Aromatics." Here, as in the example of *Suagros* from *Farták*, the classical is simply a translation of the Arabic name. Instances of this usage are of frequent recurrence; and are most valuable as links between the ancient and modern geography of the peninsula.

† Had Dean Vincent been aware of the extent of coast included by the Arabs themselves, under the denomination of *Seger*, he would not have confined himself to the notice of a double *Sinus Sachalites*. The entire southern coast (forming a series of bays within its main curve) between Omân and Aden, or from Aden to Ras al Hhad, is known by the Arabs under the name of Seger or Sheher: شِحَر, *Littus Arabiæ inter Omân et Aden.* (Gi. ap. Gol. in voc.) This explanation smooths every difficulty, by identifying the ancient Sinus Sachalites with the southern coast itself; particular parts of which were specially so denominated by different geographers.

entire line of this coast by the false position of Suágros, is exposed at every stage of the argument: it concludes with the exposure of it in one striking example. The island of Sarapis, in the Periplus, unquestionably *follows* the Syagrian promontory; but, according to d'Anville, Sarapis is Mazeira; and, Ras al Hhad being his Suágros, without any such intention on his part, Sarapis, in direct contradiction of Arrian, instead of following the Syagrian promontory precedes it. "D'Anville has supposed that Sarápis is the same as Mazeira; without considering that, if it be so, it is to the west of Ras el Hhad, and that therefore, his Suágros, which is fixed at Ras el Hhad, cannot be correct."*

Even this brief summary of Dean Vincent's masterly argument may prepare and predispose the candid reader, to do justice to a new and separate proof of the identity of Cape Fartask with the Suágros of the ancients. The signification of the name *Suágros*, "the wild boar†," in its connection with this promontory, has been often

* Vincent, vol. ii. pp. 331—351.

† Ἄγριοι σύες, qui et σύαγροι composite. (Steph. in voc.) Saint Jude throws light on the application, of the name to the promontory: it well represents *the foaming rage* of the sea against rocks. κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης, ἐπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας. (St. Jude, 13.) Here, "*the raging of the sea*" is *the foaming of the wild boar*. So Nicander: θήγει λευκὸν ὀδόντα, παραφρίζει τε χαλινοῖς, and the "*spumantis* apri" of Virgil.

alluded to: but it has, hitherto, wholly escaped the observation of the learned, that *Suágros* is simply the Greek rendering of the Arabic name *Fartask*, literally, "the boar's, or wild boar's, snout."* A glance at the map may suffice to indicate the origin of the name, in the form of the Cape; which terminates in a point strikingly resembling the nose of the savage animal whose name it bears. If any thing were wanting to complete so full an identification, it is supplied by Commodore Owen's chart; in which, while the Cape is named Fartask, the town seated under it preserves to this day the memory of the Syagrian Promontory, and of the Arabian commerce of the Greeks, in its actual name of *Sugger*. This union, in the present nomenclature of the Arabs, of the two names on the one spot, converts etymological evidence into moral demonstration. Strong as this proof is in itself, it is doubled when we cross to the opposite or African coast, where the ancient *Promontorium Aromatum* turns out, on examination, to be, in like manner, simply the classical version of the original Arabic name *Jarad Afouin*, liter-

* فرطاح i. q. فرطاس . فرطس *Rostrum protendit sus.* فرطوسة et فرطيسة *Suis rostrum.* — Gol. in voc. فرطح.

ally "the Mount of Aromatics." A double coincidence like this might surely silence scepticism itself, could scepticism be proof against the arguments of Dean Vincent; an argument not resting, like d'Anville's, on theory or probabilities, but based on the unchangeable physical features of the coast.*

In his modest estimate of his own argument, this truly learned writer speaks, indeed, of remaining difficulties and objections. Compared, however, with his proof, the supposed difficulties and objections are as nothing: it sweeps them before it. For what do they amount to? the occurrence of two names, *Omana* and *Moscha*,

* The actual course of commerce, between southern Arabia and India, as noticed incidentally by Mr. Wellsted, supplies a separate proof of the identity of the Syagrian promontory with Cape Fartaque, while it satisfactorily explains, at the same time, the cause of the great note of that promontory in the navigation of the ancients. Speaking of the trade to India from the southern ports, Mr. Wellsted observes, "Departing from the Arabian ports in September, *the larger class* [of vessels] proceed to the eastward *as far as Ras Fartâk*, the smaller to Ras el Hhad; from thence they [the smaller vessels] strike across, and make the coast of India about Porebunder." (Vol. ii. p. 437.) The two stations, we may rest assured, have never been changed, because the reasons which dictated their selection are unchangeable. Cape Fartaque must always have been the station for vessels of sufficient scale to stand across the ocean: Ras el Hhad, that for boats compelled, by their size, to creep along the coast. *Suágros* (or C. Fartaque) thus plainly derived its note from its greater importance; especially as it would necessarily be the rendezvous for foreign shipping, . . . for the large vessels of the Greeks and Romans.

as those of a district, and of a port, in the neighbourhood of Suágros to the east. Omana, it is hence inferred, must be the eastern province of Omân; Moscha, its chief city Muscat; and Suágros, consequently, Ras al Hhad. The absurdity of these hasty inferences, it has been already seen, is exposed, by the long line of southern coast described, alike by Ptolemy and Arrian, as following Suágros: their untenableness will further appear in the ensuing section; where the site of Muscat will be brought to light, in the *Cryptus Portus* of Ptolemy, and its name, in the *Amithoscuta* of Pliny: their needlessness shall now be shown, by a short examination of the case.

That Sabea (or the coast of the Homerites), Hadramáut (or the Incense country), and Omân, "are the three general divisions of Arabia on the Indian Ocean, is consonant (Dean Vincent well observes) to all the evidence we have, ancient and modern." But all authorities, from Ptolemy to d'Anville inclusive, make Hadramáut terminate at Cape Fartask; consequently, the third division, Omana or Oman, commences there. The deep bay of Seger, therefore, backed by "the mountains of the moon" (respecting whose identity his graphical description leaves no room for

mistake *), is most correctly represented, by Arrian, as penetrating into the province of *Omana*, of which the district of Seger forms the south-western extremity.

Of the second name here in question, or *Moscha Portus*, we have only to observe, that, like the denomination Sachalites or Sahar, indeed like very many Arabic names of localities, it plainly appears to be of repeated occurrence in these parts. Thus Ptolemy has a Moscha Portus, before we come to Suágros, as well as Arrian one which follows it. A circumstance noticed by Ptolemy supplies a curious explanation of the name; and accounts well, at the same time, for its being a favourite appellation in this quarter, and common to several places. The Arabic *Moscha*, like the Greek ἀσκὸς, signifies a *hide* or *skin*, or *a bag of skin or leather blown up like a bladder:* now Ptolemy informs us, that the pearl-divers who frequented his Sinus Sachalites (unquestionably the site of Arrian's Moscha Portus) were noted for the practice of swimming, or floating about the bay, supported by inflated hides or skins. What more natural, than that the ports frequented by these divers, should be

* Μετὰ δὲ Καννὴ, τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑποχωρούσης, ἄλλος ἐκδέχεται βαθύτατος κόλπος, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρεκτείνων, ὁ λεγόμενος Σαχαλίτης· καὶ χώρα λιβανωτοφόρος, ὀρεινή τε καὶ δύσβατος.—Periplus, p. 16.

named from this practice? Hence, most probably, the Arabic name *Hasec*, that of a town now in being, in the bay of Curia Muria (Ptolemy's Sinus Sachalites). And hence, too, that of the *Ascitæ* of Ptolemy ("floaters on skins"), the actual inhabitants of his *Moscha Portus*, immediately west of Suágros. In a word, the origin of the common name of place and people seems furnished to our hand, ἐν τῷ Σαχαλίτῃ κόλπῳ, ἐν ᾧ κολύμβησις πινίκου· ἐπὶ ἀσχῶν διαπλέουσι.*

* Every addition to our stock of information bears fresh witness to the fidelity of the ancient geographers. The practice here noticed by Ptolemy, continues in use among the fishermen on these coasts, at the present day. "The whole coast [of Omân] abounds with fish; and, as the natives have but few canoes, they generally substitute *a single inflated skin, or two of these, having a flat board across them.* On this frail contrivance *the fisherman seats himself,* and either casts his small hand-net, or plays his hook and line. Some capital sport must arise, occasionally, when the sharks, which are here very numerous and large, gorge the bait; for, whenever this occurs, unless the angler cuts his line, and that, as the shark is more valued than any other fish, he is often unwilling to do, nothing can prevent his rude machine from following their track, and the fisherman is sometimes, in consequence, carried out, a great distance, to sea. It requires considerable dexterity to secure these monsters; for, when they are hauled up near to the skins, they struggle a good deal, and, if they happen to jerk the fisherman from his seat, the infuriated monster is said to dash at once at him. Many accidents, I learn, arise in this manner; but, if they succeed in getting him quickly alongside, they soon despatch him by a few blows on the snout." (Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.) Ptolemy's incidental notice of this curious practice (probably, like many like facts, numbered, hitherto, among "the fables of the ancients,") here receives full and most curious elucidation. As the practice prevails along the coast of Omân, it is clear that *Muscat*, as well as *Moscha* and *Hasec*, derives its name from the Arabic *Moscha*, an inflated hide or skin; or from its fishermen, denominated, from their singular and ingenious contrivance, "floaters on skins."

As the *fishermen* were named *Icthyophagi*, so the *divers* are named *Ascitæ*.

Thus much done to remove the very trivial difficulties about names, which, in truth, never should have been raised, we may now put to the test of another process, the position of the Syagrian promontory, and the arrangement of the coast which follows it, by the application, to our adjustments, of the measurements of Arrian. This test it is fortunately in our power to apply with a certainty and exactness formerly unknown: the admiralty chart of this coast, by Commodore Owen, furnishing us with very different guidance, from the loose and vague measurements in the hands of d'Anville or Vincent. The first distance marked by Arrian, on leaving Suágros, is one of six hundred stadia, or seventy-four Roman miles, across the mouth of the bay, which he describes as adjoining it on the east: the measurement tallies to a nicety with that of the bay of Seger, immediately eastward of Cape Sugger or Fartask, which, from Cape Fartask to the headland beyond Dahr on its opposite side, is, in breadth, precisely seventy-four Roman miles. His next distance is one of five hundred stadia, or sixty-two Roman miles, from the eastern turn of this bay to the *Moscha Portus* of the Periplus: this measurement, again, brings

us, with nearly equal exactness, to *Ras-al-Sair* (the *Ausara* of Ptolemy), situated about sixty Roman miles to the east of the preceding headland. That the Moscha Portus of Arrian is only another name for the Ausara of Ptolemy, . . . a conclusion sanctioned by the exact correspondence of their distance, eleven hundred stadia, from Cape Sugger or Fartask, . . . is corroborated by a further, and most remarkable feature of agreement. For Arrian states his Moscha Portus to have been the emporium of the Incense-trade; and Pliny proves Ausara to have been a chief emporium of this trade, by his notice of the fact that one particular kind of incense bore the name of *Ausaritis.**

TOWNS AND INHABITANTS OF THE CENTRAL COAST.

That the Syagrian Promontory has been correctly identified with Cape Fartask, will now become apparent, as we go on to recover and arrange the several towns and tribes, which Ptolemy and Pliny unite to place in the immediate neighbourhood of Suágros. This arrangement can be effected with the more certainty and exactness, because where Ptolemy gives, in connected series, the names of the different sea-

* Nat. Hist. lib. xii. § 35. (16.)

ports, Pliny supplies, in similarly connected series, the same names, in those of their inhabitants; while the ports themselves, bearing in more instances than one their ancient names, occur in the actual topography of the central coast. Thus, beginning from the east, we meet in Ptolemy, disposed along his Sinus Sachalites to the east of Suágros, *Ausara* and *Thauane*, and adjoining it on the west, *Moscha Portus* (obviously the seat of his *Ascitæ*); all three in the very order, in which the ports of *Ras-al-Sair*, *Doan*, and *Hasuel* or *Kesem*, lie, the two former east, the latter west, of Cape Fartask or Sugger. In Pliny's survey of the southern coast, again, which comes round also from the east, we recognize the same sea-ports, in the same order, by the names of their inhabitants, . . . *Ausaritæ*, *Toani*, *Ascitæ;* in other words, the people of *Ausara* (or *Ras-al-Sair*), of *Thauane* (or *Doan*), and of *Moscha* (*Hasuel* or *Kesem*).

Ausara and Thauane, indeed, stand identified with Ras-al-Sair and Doan, not by name only, but by the very nature of this coast; whose sea-ports, in all ages, must have stood at the mouths or gorges of the *passes*, through the mountains, into the Incense-country: but *the only two passes* through the Djebel-al-Camur, it will at once be seen on reference to the map, lie directly behind Ras-al-Sair and Doan. The

identity of the Thauane of Ptolemy with Doan has been already shown on independent grounds, by an easy correction of the great errour of his chart-makers, in carrying the Djebel-al-Camur up the country: by the simple process of wheeling them round into their true position along the coast, Thauane is brought upon the site of Doan, within the semicircle formed by the "Mountains of the Moon." Ausara, Pliny informs us, was a port of the kingdom of the *Gebanitæ;* whence we gather, that it was a possession of the Beni Kahtan Arabs of Yemen. And as he further acquaints us, that the *Minæi* were also possessors of a single pass*; the only other pass, that of Doan, with its port, must be understood to have belonged to that great commercial people. The Ascitæ of Pliny and Ptolemy inhabited the vicinity of Suágros *to the sea*, and adjoined the Adramitæ: this position places them precisely at Cape Fartask; the boundary, at this day, between Seger and Hadramáut.

To the east of Ausara, in the bay of Seger, the memory of the *Hamirei* of Pliny is still preserved in *Ras Hamier*, the existing name of a headland half-way between Ras-al-Sair and

* Attingunt et Minæi, pagus alius, per quos evehitur uno tramite angusto. — L. xii. c. 30.

Seger (Ptolemy's *Agge Vicus*). The Smyrnophoros Regio Exterior of Ptolemy, and the "Montagnes ou croit l'Encens" of d'Anville, or the range lying adjacent to the Djebel-al-Camur on the east, are self-evidently the same. His *Marmatha* (the *Marma* of Pliny), at the eastern termination of this range, corresponds well in name, and exactly in position, with the cape and town of *Morebat* or *Marbat**; the extreme term of the bay of Seger.

COAST OF THE SACHALITÆ AND OMANITÆ.†

The remainder of the great eastern Sinus Sachalites (which, according to Ptolemy, stretched from Suágros to Corodamum, or from Cape Fartask to Ras-al-Hhad) presents, comparatively,

* "In Arabia et vicinis locis, literæ M. et B. sunt maximè permutabiles: . . . Bagdad et Magdad; Meccha et Beccha; *Merbat* et *Berbat*, eaedem urbes." — Bochart, Phal. lib. iv. cap. 4.

† M. d'Anville censures Ptolemy for carrying his Omanum Emporium, and its possessors the Omanitæ, inland, west of the Kottabani, or Bedouin Kahtanys of the Libanotophorus, "L'*Omanum Emporium*, ou *Omana*, que l'on y voit dans les terres, est une place maritime, qui à la vérité communique le nom d'Oman à la contrée des environs." (Geograph. Anc. tom. ii. p. 227.) He stands himself corrected for the gratuitous censure, by the true bounds of Omân; which stretches inland as far as the province of Mahrab. "The province of Omaun extends from Aboothubee (vulgarly called Boothbee), in the Persian Gulf, to the island Masseira, south of Raus-ul-Hudd." (Fraser's Khorasan, p. 11.) The Omanum and Omanitæ of Ptolemy no doubt refer to a place and people on the inland, or western, side of the province.

few difficulties, and possesses, relatively, little interest: the far greater part being desert, with, here and there, a harbour, or a town. Its arrangement is facilitated by the insular landmarks off this barren coast, the Curia Muria islands, and the two Mazeiras; the Zenobiæ insulæ, and Sarapis or Ogyris, of the ancients.

Name and distance (1500 stadia, or 185 Roman miles, from his Moscha Portus or Ausara) unite to identify the *Asichôn* of Arrian (apparently Ptolemy's *Astoa*) with *Hasec*, a town at the bottom of the Giun al *Hasec*, or Curia Muria bay. The space which he interposes (2000 stadia, or 250 Roman miles) between the Zenobian isles and Sarapis, accurately coincides with that laid down, in Commodore Owen's chart, between the islands in the bay of Hasec and the Mazeiras. And thus each successive measurement, on a map framed, not, like d'Anville's southern coast, from imperfect information, but *from actual survey*, supplies fresh proof of the knowledge and exactness of the author of the Periplus.

Moving still eastward, the *Neogeialla navale* of Ptolemy answers well in relative position, though with great corruption of the Arabic name, to *Ainad*, a town about fifty miles E.N.E. of Hasec. It is obvious to remark, that the rare occurrence of either port or town along this coast

much heightens the probability of this identification. His next point, *Hormanus* Fl., there can be no question, is the same with *Harmin;* although no river is marked in our modern maps, as falling into the sea at or near that sea-port. *Abissa* finds its name and site accurately represented by *Abisagi;* a town at the eastern extremity of the Gulf of *Bassas*, between Harmin and Ras-al-Hhad. Inland, north of Abissa and its Gulf, the *Didymi Montes* of Ptolemy obviously correspond with the *Palheiros mountains* lying north of the Gulf of Bassas. This region is the *Libanotophoros*, or region of frankincense. Ptolemy's *Bosara*, lastly, tallies so closely in name with *Masora*, the last sea-port west of Ras-al-Hhad, that the apparent difference of site may fairly be accounted for, by the wrong drawing of the coast; which, as represented in his map, is, here, again most confusedly contracted; but without the recurrence of another *Magnum Littus*, and *Parvum Littus*, to unfold it into its just proportions.

We have now traversed the base of the Arabian peninsula, from its south-western to its south-eastern extremity; where, beginning from the Corodanum Promontorium of Ptolemy, or Ras-al-Hhad, commences its eastern side, running, in a north-western direction, along the coast of Omân,

and the Persian Gulf. In the next section, it is proposed to ascend to the head of the Persian Gulf; and to pursue, from north to south, under the joint guidance of Pliny and Ptolemy, the restoration of the classical geography, by comparison with the modern topography, of these less frequented coasts.

CANE EMPORIUM: TRULLA PORTUS: METHATH VILLA: ORNEÔN, OR BIRD ISLAND: TRULLA, OR SPOON ISLAND.

Between Arabia Felix, or Aden, and the Syagrian Promontory, the most noted station of ancient commerce was Cane Emporium. The ascertainment of the site of this celebrated seaport is, therefore, an essential preliminary to the adjustment of the lesser stations along this coast. By d'Anville, guided by the coincidence of name, and of distance from Aden, Cane is identified with the port of Caua Canim. Dean Vincent, on the other hand, judging by the distance only, is divided between Caua Canim and Maculla; either of which ports, he observes, corresponds sufficiently with Arrian's report of the distance of Cane from Arabia Felix, viz. better than two thousand stadia, or upwards of 200 miles.

Imperfect as was his information respecting a

coast, in his day, nearly unknown, and slightly as he has indicated the proofs which make good his decision, M. d'Anville here, as in so many similar verifications, happens to be right. The question, however, is one of sufficient moment, in its geographical bearings, to claim a more full determination; and the materials *now* in our possession are fortunately ample to determine it.

From Ptolemy and Arrian together, we may collect the following marks of the site of Cane. 1. It lay somewhat more than two thousand stadia east of Aden. 2. It was a port of the Incense region, or Hadramáut. 3. Off it lay two desert islands, the first named *Orneôn*, or "the Isle of Birds," the second, *Trulla*, or "Spoon Island." 4. The sea-port next to Cane, on the east, bore the name of *Methath Villa*. It is presumed that, if all these marks shall be found to unite at a given harbour on this part of the southern coast, that harbour, if further identified by the existence of extensive ruins, must be acknowledged, on all hands, as the site of the Cane Emporium of the ancients.

Now all these marks unite at Hasan or Hussan Ghoráb, (the Caua Canim of d'Anville, as we shall see presently, under another name,) a double harbour, in lat. 14°, long. 48° 23′, at opposite sides of a square and very steep hill, with the ruins of

an ancient town* at its base, and on its inner or northern side, and its summit crowned by the remains of a fortress, both naturally and artifi-

* "On the morning of the 6th of May, 1834, we anchored in a short and narrow channel, joined on the one hand by a low rocky islet, and on the other by a lofty, black-looking cliff, to which our pilots applied the designation of Hasan Goráb. Some ruins having been perceived on the summit of the latter, shortly after our arrival I proceeded to the shore, for the purpose of examining them. To avoid the swell, which rolled along the opposite side of the island, and produced a considerable surf against the seaward front of the cliff, as it rose up perpendicularly from the sea, we pulled into a small bay on the north-east side, where the water was much smoother. Landing on a sandy belt, which extended from the margin of the sea to the base of the hill, *we found ourselves amidst the ruins of numerous houses, walls, and towers.* The former are small, of a square form, and have mostly four rooms on a single floor. The walls appear to have been carried along the face of the hill, in parallel lines, at different heights: several towers also occur, at unequal distances. The hill, at this side [the inner or north-eastern], for one third of its height, ascends with a moderate acclivity, *and along the slope the ruins are thickly scattered.* There are, however, no apparent remains of public edifices, nor are there any traces of arches or columns. The whole are constructed of fragments detached from the rock; and, from the several patches which remain, it appears that they must have been covered with cement; but, owing to the action of the weather, both this and the mortar have almost entirely disappeared. From the traces yet left on the beach, the cement appears to have been obtained, as it is at present on many parts of the Arabian coast, by the calcination of coral. Hasan Goráb is about five hundred feet in height, and its basis is a dark, greyish-coloured, compact limestone. It appears to have been formerly insulated, although now connected to the main by a low sandy isthmus, blown up there by the violence of the south-westerly winds, and evidently of recent formation. The action of the sea might indeed be plainly traced in the cavities and hollows exhibited by a ridge of rocks, now some distance from the water, but which, evidently at some no very remote period, must have been covered by it.

"We had been vainly looking for a path by which we might ascend to the summit, but it appeared inaccessible on every side; and had almost given up our search, when it was suggested, that the two towers which

cially, of great strength. For, 1. Hussan Ghoráb stands at the required distance of above two thousand stadia (viz. about three degrees and a

were standing by themselves might possibly have commanded the approach and entrance to one. Scrambling, accordingly, over the ruins formed by the falling of the upper part of these [towers], we at length discovered some faint traces of a track, which, in order to facilitate the ascent, had been cut along the face of the hill in a zigzag direction; but, beyond and above that [track] the cliff had been hewn away, so as to form a sort of terrace; and, even here, the path, at the widest part, would not admit of more than one abreast. As there was a steep precipice on either hand, above and below us, we did not find, in those places where the rains had washed parts of it away, a safe or pleasant route.

"On the smooth face of the rock to the right, about one third the ascent from the top, we were, however, rewarded by the discovery of some inscriptions. The characters are two and a half inches in length, and executed with much care and regularity. To avoid the possibility of omission or error, three several copies were taken, by different individuals, all which have been subsequently examined and compared. Continuing our route from hence to the top of the hill, *houses nearly as numerous as those below, walls and other defensive edifices, were perceived, at various distances, scattered over its surface;* and, on the verge of the precipice, a square tower, of massive masonry. It probably once served both as a watch-tower and light-house, and may still be discerned for many miles to seaward. Some of the stairs are of very large dimensions; the windows and doors are plain, without arches [a mark, as in the Egyptian buildings, of high antiquity]. About one hundred yards from this tower, the tanks are situated: they have been excavated, with much labour, out of the solid rock, and are cemented inside.

"Having now surveyed every part of the hill, I could not but come to the conclusion, that it had been formed, both by nature and art, as a place of extraordinary strength. While the former had left it accessible at but one point, the latter had so fortified it in that quarter, that it would be impossible for the most daring courage or address to scale it. But, independent of this advantage, when we consider the lawless and barbarous character, which the inhabitants of the coast have borne from the earliest periods, its insular situation must have rendered it invaluable, both as a safe retreat, *and as a magazine of trade;* and, indeed, *the circumstance of its possessing two harbours, affording anchorage in either mousoon,* on a

half, or 215 miles) east of Aden. 2. It is a part of Hadramáut. 3. Off it lie two desert islands (the first islands occurring along the entire range of coast from Cape Bab-el-Mandeb to this point),

coast *remarkably destitute of any so well sheltered*, at least as far as our present knowledge extends, would appear to indicate, *great commercial importance*. But it is to the inscriptions we must look for elucidation on this point, as well as the several others connected with it. My previous remarks on those discovered in the ruins of Nakab el Hajar will equally apply to those discovered here. There is so trifling a difference between the two, that I assign to them a common origin. I cannot, however, neglect to draw attention to the obvious and striking coincidence, between the ports of Hasan Gorâb, as deduced from our survey, and that specified by Arrian, 250 miles [little more than 200], as the distance of the port, Cane Kanim, from that called Arabia Felix, which modern geographers with much confidence place at the present harbour of Aden." (Lieut. J. R. Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 421—426.)

"The next object worthy of particular notice is the brown hill of Hussan Ghorâb, the site of the ancient Cana Canan, and formerly one of the most important places on the Arabian coast. It is a square dreary mountain of 456 feet in height, with very steep sides. The late Dr. Hulton and Mr. J. Smith, in the course of their indefatigable and successful rambles, [discovered] that a narrow pathway, *cut in the rock*, led to the summit; and as no difficulty ever deterred them from pursuing an object attended by the remotest prospect of accomplishment, they forthwith climbed the weary way, and found, thereby, the ruin I have before compared with that of Nuk bel Hadjer. Time and strength must, indeed, have been expended, in the laborious undertaking of this road, in some parts nearly ten feet broad. On the second visit, they effected a more minute examination; measuring, and drawing plans of each separate remain. It was here that the inscriptions, resembling those of Nuk bel Hadjer were discovered, *carved in the solid rock (first considerably smoothed)*; and from thence they were copied by Dr. Hulton. He described them as being but slightly injured by the lapse of years, and not one character seemed effaced. The tanks, together with the ruins of several walls, were composed of *cement, as hard and impenetrable as the rock itself*. A vault, of a curious description, was also discovered. I will not attempt to draw any final conclusions, regarding the period in which a city flourished here; nor venture an opinion, concerning the

both conspicuous sea-marks; the one, Sekah or Gibboose, known and *named* from the vast flights of sea-fowl by which it is frequented, and thus answering *literally* to the Orneôn of Arrian *, the

supposed unknown character of the writings, a copy having been sent to those so competent to pronounce a correct decision upon them.

" In whatever time the buildings around Hussan Ghorâb were erected, I consider the present discovery of great importance: the fort having been unquestionably intended, by the founder, to protect the harbour on its eastern side, independently of the town beneath; which, judging from the size and extent of the ruins, must have been considerable. Its position, too, equally served to render it *a sea-port of immense consequence, and the citadel and the hill the grand depôt for its commercial resources.*" — Captain S. B. Haines, I. N., MS. Journal, pp. 123. and 128.

" Bunder Hussan Ghorâb, a small, secure, and well sheltered bay and harbour, to the eastward of the black hill of Hussan Ghorâb. This rock forms its S.W. point; from which, to that at the entrance, it is one mile and a half broad, and one deep. The eastern side having a rocky reef off it, reduces the clear channel to rather more than three fourths of a nautic mile, or 1710 yards." — Ib. p. 128.

* "*Sekah* or *Gibboose*: a small island bearing, from Mugdah village S. 36° 30′ 10″ W. miles, latitude 13° 54′ 40″ N., longitude 5[4]8° 28′ 20″ E. It is called *Sekah* [*i. e.* " Birds' Mute Island," from the Arabic سَقَّ, Sterc. excrevit. *avis*: conf. Golius in voc.] by the inhabitants of this coast, and *Gibboose* [*i. e.* " White Island," from غَبَس, *Color albus*] by Arab navigators. The most elevated part to the eastward is 400 or 500 feet above the sea, and is plainly discernible at the distance of thirty and thirty-five miles, in clear weather. The summit is smooth, and *white*, owing to *the numerous flights of birds*, which resort thither, and quickly form *the excrescence*; constantly providing this singular article of trade, which is purchased at a high price by agriculturists. A vessel may pass, in any direction, to or from this island, without the slightest apprehension of danger. Yet I would not approach within 300 yards, having twenty fathoms all around. Between it and Burrugghur [or Orneôn and Trulla] there are soundings of twenty and twenty-three fathoms; then, again, between Sekah and the Guthrain rocks, the same; and deeper between the island and Hallaarnee; and to the southward,

other, Burrugghur, bearing, *in its form*, the origin of its classical appellation, *Trulla*, or "Spoon Island."* North of Trulla or Burrugghur lies another harbour, the entrance of which is sheltered to the east by this island: here we have the *Trulla Portus* of Ptolemy. 4. At the extremity of this bay, lastly, is seated the town of *Mughda*, in site corresponding exactly, and in name with a very slight modification, to the *Methah* villa of that geographer,

ninety-five fathoms, one mile and three-quarters off it." (Haines's MS. Journal, p. 139.

Both its Arabic names originate most appropriately: this island being denominated *Gibboose*, or "White Island," by the Arab navigators, who, owing to its *whiteness*, see it from a great distance at sea; and *Sekah*, "Stercoraceous or Birds' Mute Island," by the inhabitants of the opposite coast, from its valuable and singular produce.

* In Captain Haines's Chart, the form of this island is, as nearly as possible, that of the bowl of an egg-spoon, or of the old-fashioned horn or sugar spoon. He thus describes it in his Journal:—"Burrugghur Island is small, precipitous, and very lofty; principally formed of limestone, *with not a vestige of vegetation on it*; in latitude 13° 58′ N., longitude 48° 32′ 40″ E. When running along the coast, it has frequently been mistaken for a point of the main land. It is, nevertheless, separated by a channel, through which the Palinurus ran, with a fair wind; and *now called Sanders's Channel, from the officer who first sounded it.*" (MS. Journal, p. 139. Had the ancients indulged in this practice, we might look in vain for Orneôn or Trulla.

Dean Vincent remarks, that "Troolla has no meaning in Greek:" he forgot that it is an importation from the Latin,—*trulla, a spoon.* (Conf. J. Meursii, Gloss. Græc-barb., ap. Scap. Lex. in voc.) The ancient name of this island, derived from its shape, shows the nomenclature of sailors to be alike in every age and country: it is just such as would be given by our own, at the present day.

The light thrown on it by the foregoing passages of Captain Haines's Journal enables us to read Arrian's account of Cane and its environs

(as Mughda to Hussan Ghoráb) the next seaport to Kane * on the east.

For our guidance to restorations, thus finally decisive of the identity of Hussan Ghoráb with the Kane Emporium of antiquity, and altogether beyond the reach of previous inquirers, we are indebted to the late admirable survey of this coast, by Commander S. B. Haines of the Indian navy, and the officers of the Palinurus. The results of this survey are the more valuable, because unconnected with the preconceived systems, which have so often proved the bane of scientific geographers: the gentlemen who con-

with new eyes: — *οὗ μετὰ τὴν προέχουσαν ἄκραν, ἐμπόριόν ἐστιν ἕτερον παραθαλάσσιον, Κανὴ, βασιλείας Ἐλεάζου, χώρας λιβανωτοφόρου· καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἔρημοι νῆσοι δύο, μία μὲν ἡ τῶν Ὀρνέων, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα λεγομένη Τρούλλας, ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς Κανῆς· ὑπέρκειται δὲ αὐτῆς μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις Σάββαθα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατοικεῖ.* (Arrian. Periplus Mar. Erythr. ap. Hudson, tom. ii. p. 15.)

The fact that, although several islets or rocks occur off this coast inshore, the two islands, and the two only, are specified by Arrian, and by Captain Haines, sufficiently marks out their identity, as sea-marks for the guidance of vessels. For this important purpose, both islands are peculiarly fitted: the white colour of Sekah, or "Bird Island," caused by the deposit with which it is always covered, making it a conspicuous object, from a great distance at sea; while the position of Burrugghur is such, that, unless bound for Hussan Ghoráb, vessels running along the coast, and passing Sekah, must take Burrugghur, as the next point for which to steer. Arrian and Captain Haines had, therefore, equal and obvious grounds for the exclusive mention of these two islands, in connection with Kane or Hussan Ghoráb.

* The ancient name *Cua* Cane, or *Caua* Canim, is still discernible in that of a small island in-shore, noted in Captain Haines's Chart, viz. *Ciu* Ibraine. The *Cua* and *Cane* of Ptolemy, united, obviously form d'Anville's *Caua Canim*.

ducted it, being themselves, at the most important points (as in the case of the two islands off Hussan Ghoráb), wholly unconscious of the new lights thrown, by their discoveries and observations, upon the fidelity of Ptolemy and Arrian.

That, at Hussan Ghoráb, we are upon the true site of Kane (as the common distance from Aden, the excellence of the harbour, the two islands off it, and the extensive remains of a fortified sea-port unite to attest) will be still more apparent, on further comparison, from the immediate neighbourhood of the same names and localities, in the geography of Ptolemy, and in the journal and chart of Captain Haines.

ARAREGIA: MACALA: MŒPHA METROP: SABATHA METROP.

Are regia. — North of Kane, in lat. 14° 10′, or about seventy miles inland above his Methath Villa, Ptolemy places the town of *Araregia.* In the same latitude precisely, and as nearly at the same distance as the true outline of the coast will allow to the sea-port of Mughda, stands the town of *Hargiàh:* thus described in the MS. journal of Captain Haines:... "Hargiàh: a town under the Sheekdom of Doan, *distant two days inland from Mughda;* and from whence the

people of that village are supplied with dates, &c. It is situated between the southward, and second range of the Wyadee mountains: the population amounts to 3000, and it is generally considered a fertile and flourishing country, and abounding in cultivation; with a considerable portion of good pasture-land, and innumerable date groves. The immense herds of cattle these people possess enable them to export large quantities of ghee*," &c. &c. Of the identity of Hargiah with Araregia there can be no doubt. The Arabic name is preserved literally, with a sense of their own applied to it, in the Latin of the Roman merchants: from whom it was obviously taken, and turned into Greek, by Ptolemy; and is lost in his Ἄρη Βασίλειον.

MACCALA.—This town, in the neighbourhood of Kane, answers to *Maculla*, in that of Hussan Ghoráb. And although Ptolemy gives its latitude 13° 45′, where the true latitude is 14° 30′, the coincidence of name and neighbourhood abundantly establishes the identification. In Captain Haines's description, its ancient may justly be inferred from its actual importance:—"Maculla: the principal commercial depôt on the [southern] coast of Arabia. This town is moderately con-

* MS. Journal, p. 146.

structed, on a narrow rocky point, projecting about half a mile into the sea, with a bay on each side of it.* The bay of Maculla may be said to extend from Ras Broom to Ras Maculla, owing to the concave coast between." † The present population, Captain Haines estimates at from 4000 to 5000 Arabs and strangers, "from all parts of the world." ‡

MÆPHA METROPOLIS.—N. W. of Kane we find, in Ptolemy, in lat. 15°, a city named *Mæpha* Metrop., and N. W. of Hussan Ghoráb, also in the 15th degree of latitude, we meet, in Haines's chart, the extensive valley of Wady *Mayfah*, with a large village of the same name. "The very extensive village named *Mayfah* is situated at the eastern base of the Hummarees. Five very large groves of date trees add a beautiful effect to the scene: the most considerable has been pronounced worthy of an exclusive name, 'Ul Hummaree.'" §

The double coincidence of name and position

* The same feature is observable at Hisn Ghoráb. A double harbour, safe in both monsoons, was obviously the great desideratum along this coast; and, wherever occurring, serves as a clue to the ancient stations.

† On the same principle that the entire southern coast bore the name of "the Bay of Seger," or "Sinus Sachalites."

‡ For a more full account of Maculla, see Wellsted, vol. ii. pp. 427—435.

§ Haines's MS. Journal, p. 103.

clearly points to this valley of Mayfah, as the site of Mæpha Metropolis. Now if, within this valley, in the very latitude nearly (15°—14° 45′) assigned by Ptolemy as that of Mæpha, we had the good fortune to discover extensive and commanding ruins, unquestionably of the highest antiquity, could a more reasonable inference be drawn, than that, in these ruins, we recover the very site of the ancient Mæpha? Such are the position and character of the ruins of Nakab el Hajar *, in 1834 discovered and described by the late Lieutenant Wellsted, and his brother officer Mr. Cruttenden, of the Palinurus. In these remains, accordingly, upon grounds very different from mere conjecture, I cannot hesitate to recognize the citadel of Mæpha Metropolis †, still standing in the majesty of decay, while the city, which once surrounded it, has altogether disap-

* The architectural remains of Arabia are not limited to the south. Burckhardt informs us, that, "in Nedjed . . . likewise, are numerous remains of ancient buildings, of very massive structure, and large dimensions, but in a state of complete ruin."—Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 402, 403.

† The matter is no longer a question. Since the above was written, I have decyphered the inscription over the entrance to Nakab el Hajar. The structure was a fortified palace; the seat, originally, of Mohâreb, and his queen, Behenna: the contemporary residents, named in the inscription, are, their son Nowas, and Wanba, prefect of the royal guard. The additions to the edifice, in after-times, were the work of *Charibâel* (whose name is on the entrance), king of the Homerites and Sabæans, and the ally of Rome. — For this Arab prince, see Arrian, ap. Hudson, p. 13., or Vincent, ii. pp. 297, 317. For my vouchers, see Appendix.

peared.* This recent discovery, like that of the remains of Kane, reflects light so valuable, not on the places themselves only, but on the classical accounts, generally, of the cities and strongholds of Arabia, that I shall make no apology for submitting Mr. Wellsted's narrative, which describes the ruin, unabridged.

"About an hour from the last village [Jewel Agil], we arrived at the ruins of Nakab el Hajar; and a rapid glance soon convinced me, that their examination would more than compensate for any fatigue or danger we had encountered on our road to them.

"The hill upon which they are situated stands out in the centre of the valley, and divides a stream, which passes, during floods, on either side of it. It is nearly eight hundred yards in length, and fifty yards at its extreme breadth. The direction of its greatest length is from east to west. Crossing diagonally, there is a shallow valley, dividing it into two nearly equal portions, which swell into an oval form. About a third of the height from its base, a massive wall, averaging, in those places where it remains

* We have a similar example, in the parish of Ash next Sandwich, in Kent,—the Roman remains at Richborough; where the walls of the castle have survived, for so many centuries, the total disappearance of the city.

entire, from thirty to forty feet in height*, is carried completely round the eminence, and flanked by square towers, erected at equal distances. There are but two entrances, situated north and south from each other, at the termination of the valley before mentioned. A hollow square tower, each side measuring fourteen feet, stands on both sides of these. Their bases extend to the plain below, and are carried out considerably beyond the rest of the building. Between the towers, at an elevation of twenty feet from the plain, there is an oblong platform, which projects about eighteen feet without, and as much within the walls. A flight of steps was, apparently, once attached to either extremity of the building, although now all traces of them have disappeared. This level space is roofed with flat stones of massive dimensions, resting on transverse walls. It is somewhat singular, that we could not trace any indication of gates. The southern entrance has fallen much to decay, but the northern remains in almost a perfect state. The sketch on the map will illustrate its appearance and dimensions better than any verbal description.

"Within the entrance, at an elevation of ten

* The height of the walls of Richborough Castle, where nearly entire, on the north side.

feet from the platform, we found the inscriptions. They are executed with extreme care, in two horizontal lines, on the smooth face of the stones of the building, *the letters being eight inches long*. Attempts have been made, though without success, to obliterate them. From the conspicuous situation which they occupy, there can be but little doubt, but that, when deciphered, they will be found to contain the name of the founder of the building, as well as the date, and purport of its erection.* The whole of the wall, the towers, and some of the edifices within, are built of the same material, viz. a compact, greyish-coloured marble, streaked with thin dark veins and speckles, and hewn to the required shape with the utmost nicety. The dimensions of the slabs, at the base of the walls and towers, were from five to six and seven feet in length, from two feet ten inches to three feet in height, and from three to four in breadth. These decrease in size, with the same regularity, to the summit, where their breadth is not more than half that of those below, where the thickness of the wall, though I did not measure it, cannot be less than ten feet, and, as far as I could judge, about four at the summit. Notwithstanding the

* Mr. Wellsted was perfectly right in his conjecture.

irregularity of its foundation, the stones are invariably placed in the same horizontal lines, carefully cemented with mortar, which has acquired a hardness almost equal to that of stone. Such parts of the wall as remain standing, are admirably knitted together; others which, by the crumbling away of their bases, incline towards their fall, still adhere, in their tottering state, without fracture; and those patches which have fallen, are scattered around in huge undissevered masses. There are no openings in these walls, no turrets at the upper part; the whole wears the same stable, uniform, and solid appearance. In order to prevent the mountain torrent, which leaves on the face of the surrounding country evident traces of the rapidity of its course, from washing away the foot of the hill, several buttresses of a circular form have been hewn from that part, and cased with a harder stone. The casing has partially disappeared, but the buttresses still remain.

"Let us now visit the interior, where the most conspicuous object is an oblong square building, the walls of which face the cardinal points. Its largest size, fronting the north and south, measures twenty-seven yards. The shorter, facing the eastward, seventeen yards. The walls are fronted with a kind of free-

stone, each slab being cut of the same size, and the whole so beautifully put together, that I endeavoured in vain to insert the blade of a small penknife between them. The outer, unpolished surface is covered with small chisel marks, which the Bedowins have mistaken for writing. From the extreme care displayed in the construction of this building, I have no doubt that it is a temple*; and my disappointment at finding the interior filled up with the ruins of the fallen roof was very great. Had it remained entire, we might have obtained some clue to guide us in our researches, respecting the form of religion professed by the earlier Arabs. Above and beyond this building, there are several other edifices, with nothing peculiar in their form or appearance. Nearly midway between the two gates, there is a circular well, ten feet in diameter, and sixty in depth. The sides are lined with unhewn stones, and, either to protect it from the sun's rays, or to serve some process of drawing the water, a wall, of a cylindrical form, fifteen feet in height, has been carried round it. †

* From the inscription, this building would seem either to have been a temple, or a *hospitium* for strangers, erected by the munificence of King Charibáel.

† This well is noticed in the inscription, as among the works of Charibáel.

"On the southern mound we were not able to make any discoveries, as the whole presents an undistinguishable mass of ruins. Within the southern entrance, on the same level with the platform, a gallery four feet in breadth, protected, on the inner side, by a strong parapet, and, on the outer, by the principal walls, extends for a distance of about fifty yards. I am unable to ascertain what purpose this could have served. In no portion of the ruins have we succeeded in tracing any remains of arches or columns, nor could we discover on their surface any of those fragments of pottery, coloured glass, or metals, which are always found in old Egyptian towns, and which I also saw on those we discovered on the north-west coast of Arabia. Except the attempts to deface the inscriptions I have before noticed, there is no other appearance of the building having suffered from any ravages besides those of time; and owing to the dryness of the climate, as well as the hardness of the material, every stone, even to the marking of the chisel, remains as perfect as the day it was hewn. We were naturally anxious to ascertain if the Arabs had preserved any tradition concerning their buildings; but they refer them, in common with the others we have fallen in with, to their Pagan ancestors. 'Do you believe,'

said one of the Bedowins to me, upon my telling him that his ancestors were then capable of greater works than themselves, 'that these stones were raised by the unassisted hands of the Káfirs? No! no! they had devils, legions of devils, (God preserve us from them!) to aid them:' a superstition generally credited by others.

"The ruins of Nakab el Hajar, considered by themselves, present nothing more than a mass of ruins surrounded by a wall. But the magnitude of the stones used in its construction, and the perfect knowledge of the builder's art exhibited in the style and mode of placing them together, with its towers, and great extent, would give it importance in any other part of the world. Here in Arabia, where, as far as is known, architectural remains are of rare occurrence, its appearance excites the liveliest interest. That it owes its origin to a very remote antiquity (how remote it is to be hoped the inscription will determine)* is evident by its appearance alone; which bears a strong resemblance to similar edifices which have been found amidst Egyptian ruins. We have (as in them) the same inclination in the walls, the same form of entrance, and the same flat roof of stones.

* If the builder was Mohâreb the son of Koreish, we obtain the date.

Its situation, and the mode in which the interior is laid out, seem to indicate, that it served both as a magazine and a fort. * I think, therefore, we may with safety adopt the conclusion, that Nakab el Hajar, and the other castle which we have discovered [viz. Hisn Ghorâb], were erected during a period, when the trade from India flowed, through Arabia, towards Egypt, and from thence to Europe. Thus Arabia Felix, comprehending Yemen, Sabá, and Hadramáut, under the splendid dominion of the Sabæan or Homerite dynasty, seems to have merited the appellation of which she boasted.

"The history of these provinces is involved in much obscurity, but Agatharchides, before the Christian era, bears testimony, in glowing colours, to the wealth and luxury of the Sabæans, and his account is heightened, rather than moderated, by succeeding writers. This people, before Márbe [the Mariaba of the Greeks] became the capital of their kingdom, possessed dominion along the whole of the southern frontier of Arabia. We are expressly informed, that they planted colonies in situations eligible for trade, and fortified their establishments.

"The commerce was not confined to any par-

* The ancient *dépôts* of commerce, in Arabia, seem commonly to have united the two characters.

ticular channel; on the contrary, we learn, from an early period, of the existence of several flourishing cities, at or near the sea-shore, which must have shared in it. *We know nothing of the interior of this remarkable country*, but there is every reason to believe, as is most certainly the case with Nakab el Hajar, that these castles will not only point out the tracks which the caravans formerly pursued, but also indicate the natural passes into central Arabia.

"Nakab el Hajar is situated north-west, and is distant forty-eight miles, from the village of 'Aïn, which is marked on the chart in latitude 14° 2′ north, and longitude 46° 30′ nearly. *It stands in the centre of a most extensive valley*, called, by the natives, *Wádí Meïfah;* which, whether we regard its fertility, population, or extent, is the most interesting geographical feature we have yet discovered, on the southern coast of Arabia. Taking its length, from where it opens out on the sea-coast, to the town of 'Abbán, it is four days' journey, or seventy-five miles. Beyond this point, I could not exactly ascertain the extent of its prolongation. Various native authorities gave it from five to seven additional days, throughout the whole of this space. It is thickly studded with villages, hamlets, and cultivated grounds. In a journey of fifteen

miles, we counted more than thirty of the former, besides a great number of single houses." *

PRION FLUMEN: PRIONOTUS MONS.

The next station on the southern coast, marked by Ptolemy, to the east of Methath (or Mughda), is *Prionotus Mons*, the point at which his *Prion Flumen* discharges itself into the sea. According to M. d'Anville's arrangement of Ptolemy's positions on this coast, however, the headland, and supposed river, thus denominated, instead of lying near Mughda, are transported east of Cape Merbat, in longitude 55°, a difference of little less than five hundred miles. After so large experience of his general correctness, and with the improved lights now in our possession, we will return, with Ptolemy, to the 49th degree of longitude, and try for the recovery of his Prion and Prionotus on the chart of Captain Haines; the magnitude of whose scale sometimes enables us to decypher the ancient nomenclature from the physical features of the coast. While inspecting this chart closely, with reference to the Prionotus Mons, my attention was caught by the name and magnitude of *Ras Broom;* a headland, forming the termination of a mountain

* Wellsted, vol. ii. pp. 424—436.

chain, and jutting out prominently into the ocean, in longitude 49°, about thirty-five miles N.E. of Mughda, . . . and having, on its eastern side, a well-sheltered harbour, with a town of the same name. The appositeness of the position, with the close affinity of the names (B standing necessarily for P in Arabic), at once suggested the probable identity of *Broom* or *Prûm* with *Prion*. The etymology of Ptolemy's names, Prion, *a saw*, and Prionotus, *serrated*, led me once more to the chart, . . . where, to my great satisfaction, I found *Prionotus Mons*, (*the serrated mountain*,) explained to the eye, by the singular appearance of Ras Broom; which, on its north-eastern side, where it forms the port, is most curiously *serrated*, presenting four projecting rocks exactly resembling *the teeth of a saw*.

Ptolemy's Prionotus Mons thus clearly identified with Ras Broom, my next object of inquiry was his Prion River. It was attended, as I was fully prepared to expect, with equal success. On reference to Mr. Wellsted's account of this coast, I found that the neighbourhood of Ras Broom is remarkable, not only for an abundant supply of water, but for a number of those *rills*, which, in Arabia, in the wet season, burst forth impetuously into swollen *torrents* and *rivers*, . . . forming, in fact, the only rivers known in that

arid country. When to these decisive marks is added the further fact, stated by Wellsted, that the port of Ras Broom is *the only safe harbour on this part of the coast*, and must always have been resorted to, and often wintered at, by vessels, as their only refuge from the south-west monsoon, . . . we not only complete the proof of the identity of this cape with the ancient Prionotus, but discover, also, the special reason, why this cape should have a prominent place, as a station, in the geography and navigation of the ancients.

But let Lieutenant Wellsted's account of this locality speak for itself. "Gúbut Brúm, *from the circumstance of its affording shelter in the south-west monsoon*, has long been known to Arab navigators. Boats arriving thus far, late on their passage, from the Red Sea, which are apprehensive of encountering the strong gales of that season, *frequently put in there, and remain for the fair season.* As there is neither danger, nor difficulty, in approaching the harbour, which affords facilities of ingress and egress, the knowledge of its existence may hereafter prove of service to vessels on the coast.

"There is a small village and date-grove, bearing the same name as the port. The village is built at the gorge of a pass, extending for

some distance into the interior; and being open only on the sea-side, the atmosphere is very confined, and the heat great. This tends to ripen the dates, but its effects are very visible, in the emaciated forms of the inhabitants. Fresh water abounds here, *flowing along in some places in rills;* in others it is preserved in holes, about two feet deep. It appears to be of very good quality, and the inhabitants permitted us to fill up, without making any demand. Unaccustomed to the sight of Europeans, their demeanour was yet extremely pleasing and inoffensive." *

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 419, 420.

SECTION IV.

THE PERSIAN GULF AND OMÂN.

THE minuteness of detail, with which Pliny has entered into the topography of the coast of Arabia, on the eastern side of the peninsula, discloses an extent of information, which claims for his delineations, in this quarter, a just precedence over the more general descriptions of Ptolemy. Their joint accounts reflect a clear and steady light along this entire range of coast, the more valuable, because, the interior of the country excepted, no part of the peninsula seems less open to European curiosity, or less known to modern science. The researches of D'Anville, and the enterprize of Chesney, have left, indeed, nothing to desire, for the elucidation of the geography of these parts, as far as the Shat-ul-Arab, or mouths of the Euphrates. But, from the head of the Persian Gulf to its mouth, the western or Arabian side had lain wrapt in impenetrable obscurity, until the darkness was broken in upon by the recent survey, made by order of the Hon. East India Company. By the courtesy of the late Captain Horsburgh, though personally unknown to him, I was favoured, some

years ago, with the use of the MS. plans and drawings of the eastern coast of Arabia, to Ras-al-Hhad inclusive, as taken by the Company's officers employed in that expedition. By the aid of these authoritative documents, among other ancient localities brought to light, I have been enabled to effect one most important restoration, . . . the true site of *Gerra*, perhaps the most famous emporium of antiquity, which had hitherto been confounded, by our first modern geographers, with *Katiff*; but whose ruins I had the great and unexpected pleasure to discover, in the East India Company's chart, seated, where all the ancient authorities had placed this city, at the end of the deep and narrow bay, at the mouth of which are situated the islands of Bahrein. Valuable, however, as this survey is, it has been necessarily limited to the coast; leaving us still, as formerly, dependent on the accuracy of our two great ancient authorities, where localities at all removed from the coast are in question, to supply the deficiencies, and correct the errours, of our modern information.

CHALDÆI.

The arrangement of the classical geography of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf will be

not unappropriately prefaced, by the recovery of that great Arab name and race, who, under various disguises and corruptions of their proper name, have, in all ages, composed its chief inhabitants. The Chaulothæi of Eratosthenes, the Chaulasii of Festus Avienus, the Chablasii of Dionysius Periegetes, and the Chavelæi or Calingii of Pliny, it has been elsewhere shown*, are only so many idiomatic modifications of the more famous name, Chaldæi: and the Chaldæi are no other than the Beni Khaled; once the founders of that "Great Babylon," over whose ruins their Bedouin hordes still wander; and, alike in the days of Pliny and in our own, the paramount lords or sovereigns of Hagar or Bahrein. From the Chaldæa of Ptolemy, bordering on the Euphrates, to the Chaldæi of Pliny, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the whole country, in point of fact, is chequered by the encampments, or studded with the towns, of the Bedouins and the settlers of this great and powerful tribe. Under whatever disguise, therefore, they may appear in the classical geographers, or in the Hebrew Scriptures†, the ancient Chaldæi stand identified with the Beni Khaled Arabs, as

* Part I. § 1.

† Their Hebrew appellation כשדים, is not national; but, most probably, characteristic of their *pastoral* origin and habits.—See Castel in voc.

bearers of the same name, and dwellers on the same ground. The Calingii, placed by Pliny in the heart of Bahrein, on ground actually the territory of the Beni Khaled tribe, are by him emphatically styled "Dominos *omnium*," "lords of all people," or "of the whole land." With this national title, compare Niebuhr's account of the Beni Khaled, the actual sovereigns of this very soil. "*Tout* le district appartient à la tribu *Beni Khâled*, une des plus puissantes parmi les Arabes; laquelle s'étend si avant dans le désert, *qu'elle inquiete souvent les caravanes entre Bagdad et Hâleb*. . . . La plus grande partie de ce pays [Lahsa, Hagar, or Bahrein] est habitée par les Bedouins, et par diverses tribus Arabes *qui reconnaissent la souveraineté de la tribu Beni Khâled*." Thus, in whatever parts, or under whatever denominations, we meet the ancient Chaldæi, there we find, at this day, the stations of the Beni Khaled. Does Dionysius carry his Chaulasii north, to the distant confines of Syria? on the distant confines of Syria, between Bagdad and Aleppo, their descendants and representatives the Beni Khaled are still forthcoming. Does Pliny transport his Calingii south, to the neighbourhood of the Bahrein islands, and describe them as "lords of the whole land?" the Beni Khaled are, at once, the chief inhabitants, and

the sovereigns paramount, of the entire province of Bahrein.

IOLISITÆ.

As the Beni Khaled have always composed the main population of Bahrein, they could not be overlooked by Ptolemy, in his enumeration of the tribes on the Persian Gulf. And as they certainly do not occur under any modification of their national appellative, it is only reasonable to infer, that, while denominated nationally by Pliny, they may be denominated territorially (agreeably to a prevalent usage of the Arabs) by the Alexandrine geographer. This inference is well borne out, by Ptolemy's mention of the *Iolisitæ*, as a people of the Persian Gulf: *Ioulisitæ* being as near an equivalent as the Greek idiom is capable of, for *Ul Ahsanys*, or the inhabitants of Ul Ahsah.

In comparing further the people and places named by these geographers, it will be remembered, that, while Ptolemy *ascends*, Pliny *descends* the Gulf.

Below the Shat-al-Arab, Pliny notices, 1. the point at which the mouth of the Euphrates had issued formerly into the Gulf; 2. the Flumen Salsum; 3. Promontorium Chaldone; and, 4. a

voraginous tract of fifty Roman miles, terminated by the river Achana. Nothing can be more exact than these descriptions. The *locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit*, is d'Anville's *ancien lit de l'Euphrate;* the *Flumen Salsum*, is *Core Boobian*, a narrow salt-water channel, laid down, for the first time, in the East India Company's chart, and separating a large low island, off the mouth of the old bed of the Euphrates, from the main land; the *Promontorium Chaldone* is the great headland, at the entrance of the bay of Doat al Kusma from the south, opposite Pheleche island; and the *voragini similius quam mari*, or "sea broken into gulfs," of fifty miles, extending to the *Flumen Achana*, is that along the coast, between the above-named cape and the river of Khadema, a space of precisely fifty Roman miles. This tract, again, is the *Sacer Sinus* of Ptolemy, terminating at Cape *Zoore*.

ABUCÆI.

The *Abucæi*, or *Abukaii*, are the tribe stationed by Ptolemy nearest to the mouths of the Euphrates. Their seats lay along his *Sacer Sinus;* and their chief city was *Coromanis*. *Coromanis* answers to the town of *Grane*, in the bay of Dooat al Kusma, and opposite *Core* Boobian; and the

Abukaii, apparently, to the actual occupants of their seats, the Beni *Abdúl-Keyss*.

The identity of Ptolemy's *Sinus Mesanites* with the *Phrat Misan* of d'Anville, is too obvious to require remark. But the coincidence of name is important, as placing it in our power to point out two towns, which Ptolemy disposes close to this bay: namely, *Idicara*, ... in *el Kader*, a town at the mouth of the old bed of the Euphrates; and *Jucara*, ... in *Dsjähhre*, an ancient town, now in ruins, twenty miles south of el Kader, near Core Boobian. The agreement between the ancient and modern names and positions, in these two restorations, is perfect.

Ptolemy's *Apphana Insula*, is *Pheleche* or *Peluche* island, off the Dooat al Kuzma: the corruption of *al* Phe*l*eche into *Ap*pha*n*a is easy and obvious; and it is the only island of the Gulf at this latitude.

Pliny's next distance is a desert of one hundred miles, from his Fl. Achana to the island of Ichara. The measurement here is erroneous: the distance is one hundred and thirty miles: but the mention of Ichara (the island below Ras *el Char*) determines the space of coast described. The next space of coast, or one hundred Roman miles, between Ichara and the *Capeus Sinus*, or Katiff, is altogether omitted by Pliny: a plain proof that his information, at this part, was de-

fective. The omission is fully supplied by Ptolemy; who, also, names the people inhabiting the preceding tract, mentioned by Pliny as desert.

LEANITÆ.

The Leanitæ are disposed by Ptolemy along the coast, from his *Itamos Portus*, or Kadema, to below his *Chersonesus Akra*, or Ras-el-Châr: the name seems the obvious contraction of *Haulanites*, or Havileans, after the most ancient name of the province (still in being), Havilah or Avâl.

THEMI.

Next to the Leanitæ on the south, we find, in Ptolemy, the Themi; inhabiting his *Magorum Sinus*, or "Gulf of the Magi," with its chief town (hence named), and two others. Here we anchor upon sure ground; and are enabled to fix with the more certainty the adjoining positions on both sides. For the ancient Themi, are the *Magian* tribe of *Beni Temin;* in all ages of Arabian history, inhabitants of the gulf and city of *Magas;* a deep bay, with its chief town of the same name, immediately above the bay of Katiff. Their territory, in Ptolemy, extends

southward to *Thar*, (*Tarut*, on the Astan river,) and includes, consequently, el Katiff, which would appear, hence, to be their third city, named by Ptolemy *Istriana*.

SINUS CAPEUS.—CHATENI.

At this point, Pliny, again, becomes our best guide, both as to information and accuracy. His *Sinus Capeus* is at once identified with *Chat* or *Katiff* bay, by the mention of its inhabitants the *Chateni*: "Sinus Capeus, quem accolunt Gaulopes et *Chateni*." That the *Chateni* are the citizens of the town of Katiff, (called by the Arabs *Chat* to this day,) and that Sinus Capeus (more probably Cateus) is Katiff bay, we further ascertain, from Pliny's mention of both in connection with the *Sinus Gerraicus*, and famous city of *Gerra*; which, hitherto confounded with Katiff, it will now be proved lay next to it on the south.

SINUS GERRAICUS: OPPIDUM GERRA.

How d'Anville (who here, as usual, is followed with servility by Gibbon) came to confound Gerra, the great ancient emporium of the Persian Gulf, with Katiff, is to be accounted for only by his avowed, and most unjust depreci-

ation of the ancient authorities. Even Ptolemy's more general description, which most distinctly places the Gerræi *south* of the Themi, and of Thar or Târut, the last town of the Themi as we descend the Gulf, had his authority been duly respected, would have pointed, for the site of Gerra, to the deep bay of Bahrein. But Pliny's description of the site of Gerra is so minutely definite, that modern geographers are left with no other excuse, than that arising from ignorance of the true form and depth of the bay of Bahrein. From Strabo we learn, that the city of Gerra lay at the bottom of a deep bay: the depth of this bay, and its geographical position, are defined by Pliny: from the shore, or extreme recess, of the *Sinus Gerraicus* on which the city stood, the *Regio Attene* (manifestly a peninsular district) projected at a distance of 50 Roman miles from the opposite shore into the Persian Gulf; while the greater and lesser Tylos (the Bahrein islands) lay opposite the city, . . . the former at the same distance as the extremity of Attene, or fifty

In illustration of the *salt-houses* of Gerra, noticed by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1110.), Mr. Gibbon cites d'Herbelot:—"See one of these salt-houses near Bassora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6." In my edition of the Bibliothèque, (A la Haye, 1777,) I am unable to verify his reference.

Roman miles, and twelve Roman miles from each other.

Now, as applying, either to d'Anville's *Sinus Gerraicus* or Katiff bay, or to his bay of Bahrein, as laid down in his map of the Persian Gulf, Pliny's description and measurements are wholly inexplicable; but as applied to the bay of the Bahrein islands, in its true form, as laid down in the East India Company's chart from actual survey, description and measurements are both perfect. For this bay, in its true form, runs north and south, in the shape of a jelly-bag, to a depth of eighty Roman miles; the great island of Bahrein, or Avâl island, lying at its mouth, and the lesser island further in, at precisely the assigned distance, or twelve Roman miles, from the nearest promontory of the greater. At the inmost recess of the bay itself are marked, in the Company's chart, *the extensive ruins of an ancient city;* and the distance, from the shore on which these ruins lie, to the nearest point of Bahrein or Avâl island, is exactly Pliny's distance, or fifty Roman miles. The eastern side of the bay, moreover, is formed by the peninsula of Avâl or Khalt, running at exactly the distance of fifty Roman miles (the breadth of the bay) from the opposite shore; and thus corresponding most

accurately with Pliny's *Regio Attene*, proved, by its denomination alone, to have been not an island, and, by its separation from the opposite shore, to have been a peninsula. Thus all the circumstances required, in order to the identification of the site of Gerra, . . . a deep bay, with a ruined city at its extremity, and the two islands of Tylos or Bahrein at its mouth, at precisely the assigned distance from each other, and the larger at precisely the assigned distance from the town, and, lastly, a peninsular district or region enclosing the bay, and lying at the assigned distance from the opposite shore, . . . concur in the East India Company's chart (from actual survey) of the bay and islands of Bahrein.

Strabo supplies a distance, in completion of this verification: namely, one of two hundred stadia, or twenty-five Roman miles, . . . the distance of Gerra from the open sea. Now this distance tallies exactly with the recovered site of Gerra: for, from the point where the ruins lie, in the southern recess of the bay of Bahrein, to that where a vessel, leaving the port of Gerra, would emerge, from the narrow channel in which the bay terminates, into the open sea, the distance is exactly that stated by Strabo, two hundred stadia, or twenty-five miles. At this distance from the ruins, the estuary, after widening gradually

from two to near twenty, suddenly expands to a breadth of fifty miles, or into the sea which embraces the islands of Bahrein. Strabo's description of the Sinus Gerraicus thus gives, in one distance, the true, and *peculiar* form of the bay of Bahrein.

The site of Gerra, thus irrefragably pointed out by the consenting statements and measurements of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Strabo, is checked, only to be confirmed from all sides, by the surrounding localities. Thus we recognize *Thar*, the last town of the Themi, and *Bilana* or *Pallon*, the first town of the Gerræi*, in *Târut* and *Hims*, (the Pallon of Pliny, otherwise named *Hims* from its ancient inhabitants the *Ammonii*,) on opposite sides of the mouth of the Astan river, in the bay of Bahrein, in precisely the relative positions to each other and to Gerra, in which they stand in Ptolemy. *Katara*, again, placed by him in the same latitude, and nearly in the same longitude, with Gerra, is obviously the same with *Katura*, laid down, in the East India Company's chart, on the eastern side of

* The Gerræans were celebrated, by the ancients, for their trade in spices. And the memory of the Indian spice-trade is still preserved, in the name of a locality of Bahrein, دَارِيّ, i. q. عطار, *Attaron*, aromatarius: à دارين Castello maritimo in Bahrein, *quo ex India deferri aromata solent.* — Gi. ap. Gol.

the peninsula of Khalt or Huale, (Pliny's Regio Attene, which encloses the Sinus Gerraïcus on the east *,) and in the same position, as to longitude and latitude, with the ruins at the southern extremity of Bahrein Bay, as the Katara of Ptolemy bears to his Gerra. His *Atta vicus*, lastly, finds its representative in *Khalt*, a town north of Katura, on the same coast.

Pliny, going over the same ground, after describing the Sinus Gerraicus, with its two islands, the greater and lesser Tylos, proceeds to descend the Persian Gulf; beginning from the island of *Asgilia*, (the *Arathos* of Ptolemy, and *Asclie* or *Arâd* of the modern Arabs,) at the northern extremity of his Regio Attene, or the peninsula of Khalt. As the coast, hereabouts, is confessed by D'Anville to be nearly unknown, the notices of Pliny become the more valuable. They are few and brief: comprizing the following names of tribes or inhabitants: —

NOCHETI, ZURACHI, BORGODI, CATARÆI, NOMADES.

The term *Nocheti* (from the Arabic *Nochat*) denotes either mankind generally, or a particular

* *Regio Attene.*] Nomen habet ab Ἄττα κώμη, cujus meminit Ptolem. vi. 7., *ultra Gerræos, versus Rubrum Mare.* — Hard. ap. Plin. vi. 32. not. l.

tribe or race. Their name consequently (if hence derived) does not enable us to determine the site of this people. Another, and more probable derivation, is from the Arabic *Nachat;* the name of a dwarf and deformed breed of sheep, peculiar to Bahrein, used by the Bahrein Arabs as a term of contempt.* The Nocheti of Pliny may have been either the shepherds of this peculiar breed, or a tribe nicknamed after them. But either supposition leaves their site undetermined, further than fixing it, where Pliny certainly fixes his Nocheti, within Bahrein. The adjustment of the other names is clear and easy. The *Catarœi* are unquestionably the inhabitants of *Catura.* Their neighbours, the *Borgodi,* we may place with confidence at *Godo* (the Kadara of Ptolemy), the next known station south of Catura. The *Zurachi* are clearly the natives of *Sarcoa* or *Zar,* or Pliny's *Flumen Canis,* or the *Zar* river. Here, again, we are sure of our ground: the *Flumen Cynos* or *Canis,* alike by name and position, being demonstratively identical with the only river of this coast, the *Zar* or Lar (the Arabic name for *a dog*); which falls into the Gulf at the bend of the coast northwards, as it ascends to Cape Mussendom.

Of the towns named by Ptolemy, along the

* Golius in voc.

same line of coast, the following may be pronounced still in existence: *Atta Vicus*, *Katara*, *Sata*, *Masthala*, *Cabana*, *Sarcoa Civitas*. Atta Vicus and Katara have been already identified with Khalt and Catura. And their positions enable us to decypher the remaining four, in the modern topography of this vicinage, with every probability of correctness. *Sata* is the seat of the Beni *As;* a small tribe occupying, at this day, the angle of the Persian Gulf on which Ptolemy has placed Sata. *Masthala* is *Mascalat;* a town lying to the east of the Beni As, as Ptolemy's Masthala lies east of his Sata. *Cabana* is *Calba;* a sea-port still further east, and the next station (like Ptolemy's Cabana) to the Zar or Lar river. Indeed, the sea-ports, in this quarter, are so thinly sprinkled, that coincidence of name becomes demonstration of identity. From the point at which we have now arrived, to the south-eastern extremity of the Arabian peninsula, or along the entire circuit of coast between the Zar river and Ras-al-Hhad, the Alexandrine geographer, it is singular to remark, notices two sea-ports only, *Rhegama Civitas* *, and *Cryptos Portus*. His *Rhegama Civitas*, is *Ramah* or *Rhums*, the last port of the Persian Gulf next Cape Mussendom. But his *Cryptos*

* The seat of his *Naritæ* or *Anaritæ*.

Portus, when taken in connection with the *Amithoscuta* of Pliny, suggests and establishes (as will hereafter appear) the most important verification on this side of Arabia; since it removes, altogether, the ground of that hasty inference of d'Anville and others, which (resting solely on similarity of name) would confound Ptolemy's *Moscha Portus* with *Muscat;* and, by necessary consequence, his *Syagros Extrema* with his *Corodamum Promontorium*, . . . or Cape Fartask with Ras-al-Hhad.

Where Ptolemy is most defective, it fortunately happens, Pliny is most full. From Cape Mussendom, especially, to Ras-al-Hhad, the scantiness of detail in the former geographer, is more than compensated by its abundance in the latter. To Pliny, therefore, we must again turn as our chief guide; carefully availing ourselves, at the same time, of the strong lights thrown, from time to time, on his statements, by his fellow-labourer.

It is needless to prove, what it is sufficient to state, that Pliny's *Naumachœorum Promontorium*, opposite Carmania, (evidently so named, although the name has passed unnoticed by all his annotators, from the ferocious races of *pirates*, who have always infested the narrow entrance of the Persian Gulf,) is Cape *Mussendom*, the Por-

tuguese corruption of the classical name. The breadth of the strait, (fifty Roman miles), is exaggerated; for it is barely thirty miles across. Cape Mussendom, again, is Ptolemy's Asaborum Promontorium; and his *Macæ*, a tribe adjoining it, a palpable contraction of the *Naumachæi* of Pliny. This tribe we recover in the Jowaser Arabs, the most famous pirates of the Persian Gulf. The neck of land terminating in Cape Mussendom, named by the Arabs *Avâl*, is divided by a chain of mountains ending at the cape. These are the *Montes Eblitæi* of Pliny, or "*the Mountains of Avâl.*" The opposite sides of this range (the *Melanes Montes Asaborum** of

* Ptolemy's nomenclature, here, receives curious elucidation from Lieut. Whitelock's "Sketch of the Entrance of the Persian Gulf." The mountains of Lima, it hence appears, are most appropriately denominated "the Mountains of the Asabi;" since the primitive race who inhabit the peninsula to Cape Mussendom, are *Troglodytes*, dwelling, as their forefathers did, in natural excavations, or caverns, on the summits and sides of those mountains. "Khasáb [qu. *Asáb?*] bay (the fort in latitude 26° 13′ N., longitude 56° 20′ E.) is the only one of these inlets, in the vicinity [of Ras Musandam], which differs sufficiently from the others to merit a separate notice. . . . The isolated condition of the inhabitants of these hills and coves has rendered them remarkable for their primitive state of ignorance and poverty; which is, however, compensated, in a great measure, by their love of home, and general contentment. They are principally found residing in the little sandy bays situated at the extreme end of the inlets, living in small stone huts, and surrounded by a few palm-trees: they subsist on fish, barley-cakes, goat's milk, and dates. . . . They speak Arabic, a corrupt jargon certainly, *and difficult to be understood even by Arabs;* but I do not believe that they have a distinct language. For, when Mr. Wellsted put the question to the Imám of Maskat, he decidedly said they had not: that he had seen a few of them

Ptolemy) are peopled, the western coast, by Pliny, with the *Maranitæ* or *Ramanitæ*, (the people of Ramah, Rhegama, or Rhums,) the eastern coast, by Ptolemy, with the Asabi, who call the mountains after their own name. This name is still preserved in that of *Sabee*, a town and district close to Cape Mussendom. In this neighbourhood, on the side of the Persian Gulf, Pliny makes mention of the *Chaldæi:* his Chaldæi are a settlement of the *Beni Khaled*, at or near Rhums. In the same quarter, his *Batra-Sabbes*, a town of the *Omanites*, is the above-named *Sabee*. Among the islands which he disposes off

at Maskat; but he believed it was very seldom that they ever left their native hills, *and they were a singular*, but a poor and inoffensive race. It is impossible to say what their numbers may be, as they shift about at different seasons, and sometimes quit their valleys, *and live on the summit of the hills.* At a place called *Limah*, we found them *residing in natural excavations, on the side of a steep hill*, the front part only being partially built up with loose stones. It had a most singular appearance. *The caverns were in ranges one above the other;* the children were usually seen tied with cords, to prevent them tumbling down the precipices." (Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. viii. pp. 183, 184.) The surveying officers found this singular race harmless and hospitable, though grossly ignorant, and dull almost to idiotcy. Themselves evidently of distinct origin from the surrounding tribes, they appear to have a small colony on the opposite side of the strait, in the island of Larek: — "We found it inhabited by a few fishermen, who, to the number of about 100, reside in wretched huts, within the walls of an extensive fort. They live together as one family, and are a poor and insulated race, bearing some resemblance to the tribe who reside in the vicinity of Rás Musandam, with whom (*and in this they are singular*) they maintain a friendly intercourse. They have a great aversion to mixing with their neighbours, and rarely ever visit the town of Kishm, though only six miles distant." — Ib. ut suprà, p. 182.

this coast, one only retains its ancient name, *Isura;* which re-appears in the shape of a Mussulman saint, . . . Sheck *Sure* or *Surdi* island, fifty miles N. E. from the mouth of the Zar river. The recovery of Isura brings with it that of *Rhinnea*, and its adjoining islet, in which were *stone columns, with inscriptions in unknown characters.** For Pliny connects these two islands with Isura; and they, accordingly, lie together, at the distance of five miles from Sheck Sure, E. N. E., in the East India Company's chart, and are the only islands in its neighbourhood. Omoenus, Etaxalos, and Onchobricæ, three islands previously mentioned by Pliny, are, probably, Bumose and the two Tunmbs; but we have no data for distributing the names.

The same observation applies to the ports, Machorbæ and Gobœa, whose only representatives would seem to be Rhums, and Cuscan at the point of Cape Mussendom. But, on doubling this cape, Pliny's lights open upon us, in thick succession, and with continually increasing clearness, unveiling the entire eastern coast of Omân

* Isura, Rhinnea, et proxima, *in qua scriptæ sunt stelæ lapideæ, literis incognitis.* (Pliny, vi. 32.) Were one of our cruisers directed to send a boat to examine the smaller of the two islets adjoining Sheik Sure, the inscriptions mentioned by Pliny may very probably be found. If in the same characters with those discovered in Hadramaut and Yemen, the date of those characters would thus be traced to a very remote antiquity.

to the Indian Ocean. His first point, outside Cape Mussendom, is his *Dabanegoris regio:* this is, evidently, *Daba* or *Dobba*, one degree south of the cape. His next is *Mons Orsa* cum portu (literally, in Arabic, "the transverse mountain"): its position is effectually determined from the East India Company's chart; where, about a third of a degree south of Daba, a great mountain, at right angles with the mountains of Lima, runs right down to the sea, while at its base lies the port of Chorfakan. Pliny's *Mons Tricoryphos*, which comes immediately after, is a probable corruption of *Chorfakan*, like *Coromanis* from *Chorboobian*. The particular mountain intended I am unable to point out.* Next to Mons Orsa, he places the *Sinus*

* Abulfeda, however, supplies light, which may lead to its discovery; for there can be little doubt that the mountain named by him *Al Dordour*, or "the three-topped mountain," and described as situated in the Indian ocean, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, is the same with *Mons Tricoryphos*, or "three-headed mountain" of Pliny. According to Abulfeda, its tops alone rise above the sea, the base being under water. The original description is so curious and minute, that I shall give it for the better guidance of navigators on this coast, who may be induced to complete the restoration. From the text of Abulfeda, I am unable to determine whether Al Dordour should be sought on the Arabian, or on the Persian, side of the sea of Omân.

وعلي فم بحر فارس من بحر الهند الدردور وهي ثلث جبال
يقال لاحدها كسير والاخر عوير والثالث ليس فيه خير
وما البحر يدور هناك فاذا وقع فيه المركب كسره هناك
قالوا وهذه الجبال فارقة في البحر ويظهر منها القليل قال

Duatus: this is the bay of *Madeha;* the next station south of the mountain just described, and of its port Chorfakan. The *regio Cardalena* would seem to be *Nahel;* at least, no nearer representative, in name and site, offers. The *insulæ Solanidæ* must be, for there are no others, *the isles of Sohar.* It is, apparently, these islands, which Pliny, presently after, discriminates specifically by their names.* *Littus Hammæum, ubi auri metalla:* Pliny's Littus Hammæum (as I have elsewhere proved) is the strand or shore of *Maham*, between the towns of Sohar and Sib. I had fixed it at Maham, guided by the coincidence of name alone, before aware of the decisive passage of Niebuhr, which converts etymological probability into physical demonstration; the town of Maham being seated *on the only strand* which breaks the precipitous coast of Omân. Here, then, we cast anchor, as in a sure port, whence to survey, and adjust by comparison with the modern, the classical localities on both sides. The *flumina, Thamar, Amnon*, are the rivers of Sib and *Omân*, which enclose between their mouths (an interval of fifty miles)

الشريف الادريسي المكان المسمي بالدردور وهو محاذي لهدين الجبلين ✡

— Abulfed. Descript. Mar. Pers. p. 69. ap. Hudson, tom. iii.

* See p. 229.

the level strand of Maham. The *insulæ*, *Pteros*, *Labatanis*, *Coboris*, *Sambracate*, correspond in number, and the last of the four at least in name, with the Sohar isles, as laid down in the East India Company's chart. These isles lie under the Libanotophoros, or region of incense; and two of them plainly, *Labatanis* and *Sambracate*, bore names connected with the incense trade. Of the last, Sambracate, Pliny remarks, that it lay opposite a town on the continent, bearing the same name.* This remark identifies it with *Burka*, the last of the Sohar islands, and opposite the town of *Burka* on the coast. The change of *Sambracate* into *Burka* is one of the most familiar of Arabic contractions. This port it was which gave name to the *Myrrha Sembracena*, so famous among the ancients; and thus noticed and derived by Pliny . . . Quinta, *Sembracena, a civitate regni Sabæorum mari proxima.*† Accordingly, Sambracate is mentioned by him in juxtaposition with the *Scenitæ Sabæi*. A little above the Sohar isles, the sea-port of *Lua* answers, apparently, to his Portus *Leu*pas; and, some way below them, the river *Masora*, or *Moiesur*, certainly corresponds with his flumen *Mysecros*. At this part of the coast, two names occur in

* Sambracate, et oppidum eodem nomine in continenti.—Lib. vi. § 32.

† Lib. xii.

conjunction in Pliny, and recur in conjunction in the actual geography of Omân, which happily unite in conducting us to that restoration, which I have spoken of as the most important on this side of Arabia. The Sabæan emporium of *Acilla* (in his day the central point, on this coast, of Indian navigation *) is placed by Pliny in juxtaposition with the *regio Amithoscuta*. But the name of *Acilla* answers to *Al Ceti*, and that of *Amithoscuta* to *Al Muscat*, neighbouring sea-ports of Omân, between the Moiesur and Sib rivers, parted from each other by the narrow interval of only between two and three miles. This double coincidence decides the identity of Amithoscuta with Muscat; which has long superseded Al Ceti, as the mart of Indian commerce. But however decisive this proof, it does not stand alone. Ptolemy's coast of Omân contains but a single sea-port, his *Cryptus portus* ("the hidden harbour"). The name is clearly descriptive, and it is descriptive exclusively of Muscat: for this port is represented, by the latest au-

* "Emporium eorum Acilla, ex quo in Indiam navigatur." . . . Nat. Hist. lib. vi. § 32. As the Acilla of Pliny, and the Moscha of Ptolemy and Arrian, were alike emporiums of the Indian trade, it follows they could hardly be adjoining ports, on the same coast of Omân. This consideration alone is decisive against the identity of Moscha portus with Muscat. Muscat must first have risen into notice after the decay of Acilla. It existed centuries before Mahomet. — See Wellsted, i. 15.

thorities, as so shut out from the sea by the rocks which encompass this noble harbour, that the first sight of the entrance is obtained, only on the actual approach of the vessel in front of the basin before the town.* This *cryptic port* is well described by Niebuhr: — "مسكت, Maskât, est la ville la plus considérable de *l'Omân*, et la plus connue aux Européens. Elle est située au 23° 37′ de latitude, et au bout méridional d'un golfe, qui a environ 900 pas géométriques de long, sur 400 de large: à l'Est, comme à l'Ouest, il est bordé de rochers escarpés, dans l'enceinte desquels les plus grandes vaisseaux sont à l'abri de tous les vents. Aux deux côtés de ce beau port il y a quelques batteries, et quelques petits forts, dont les plus considérables, et les meilleurs, sont ceux de *Merâni* et de *Jelâli*, assis aux deux côtés de la ville sur des rochers hauts et escarpés, et propres à la défendre du côté de la mer. Par

* "On the 8th of July we entered the cove of Muscat, This singular harbour, the best, *and almost only one*, on this part of the Arabian coast, is formed, on the south-eastward, by the Muscat Island, a ridge of rocks from 200 to 300 feet high, which is separated from the main land by a narrow channel, capable of admitting small boats; and on the other, or north-western side, by a ridge of mountains that project into the sea. The cove, from its entrance to the interior extremity, is about a mile deep, running to the south by west, and about half that space in breadth: it is open to the north and north-west, but sheltered from all other winds. The anchorage is good throughout, and there are no dangers; *but the entrance is so little conspicuous*, that a stranger, unacquainted with the black rocks that surround it, *would scarcely detect it, on arriving from sea.*" — Fraser's Khorasan, pp. *5*, *6*. ed. 4to.

tout, où les rochers et le port ne couvrent pas la ville, elle est enfermée d'une muraille. Derrière cette muraille s'ouvre une assez grande plaine, terminée par des rochers, qui n'ont que trois issues étroites." Thus answering by name to Pliny's nomenclature, and by nature to Ptolemy's description, we see united, in Muscat, the *Amithoscuta* of the one, with the *Cryptos portus* of the other.* By this one restoration, D'Anville's dream (which, on the sole strength of similarity of name, in the face of all the counter-evidences

* The singular circumstance, that *Cryptus portus*, or Muscat, is the only harbour noticed by Ptolemy on the whole coast of Omân, becomes easily accounted for, when we find this port, if not the only one, certainly the only one worth notice. The harbourless character of the coast north of Muscat is thus described by Lieut. Wellsted:—"The anchorage at Burka is an open roadstead, affording no protection against the prevailing breezes. *The same remark applies to nearly every town on the coast;* and they have, in consequence, but few bagalás of any burthen trading along it. Merchandize is brought from, or conveyed to, Muscat in small boats, of from thirty to fifty tons burthen. Vessels of this size, upon the approach of bad weather, are hauled upon shore, beyond the action of the sea, with little difficulty." .... "From Maskat to Schinas, the coast of Omân is remarkably destitute of harbours; the only shelter the whole line affords being *some* narrow salt-water creeks, or khores, as they are styled by the Arabs, which have only a sufficient depth of water to admit vessels of two feet draught. The inhabitants, in consequence, possess few boats of larger size than can be accommodated within them, or hauled upon the beach; which, upon the appearance of a north-wester, they most commonly do. In the date season, they follow the same plan, until they are freighted, and again launched for the purpose of proceeding to their destination. But the communication with the several ports seems more general by land than by water." (Travels in Arabia, vol. i. pp. 184. and 233.) After these descriptions of the coast, it is impossible to mistake the reason of Ptolemy's omissions: he confines his notice to the single port of Omân worth mentioning.

accumulated by Vincent, would confound Moscha with Muscat, and the Syagrian promontory with Ras al Hhad) is dissolved into thin air ; the southern coast resumes its natural and proper order; and justice, however late, is done to the two great ancients, whom it has been so long the fashion with modern science to depreciate and explode.

It remains only to collect the few scattered rays, which Ptolemy and Pliny together throw upon the remainder of the eastern coast, and upon the more inland towns and tribes of the maritime province of Omân.* Our first step will illustrate the correctness with which Pliny's *Amithoscuta* has been identified with *Muscat.* His next port, after Acilla and Amithoscuta, is *Damnia ;* and the next, after Muscat and Al Ceti, in the modern geography of this coast, is *Dagma.* The identification of classical with modern geography, at any given point, can scarcely be carried higher, than by this triple coincidence of names and sites. The proof that the localities of Pliny are here in their right places, becomes, if possible, still more clear, as we go on from these towns to the tribes adjoin-

* Mr. Fraser agrees with Ptolemy, in making Omân extend westward, as far as the island of Serapis or Mazeira. — See Travels in Khorasan, p. 11.

ing. Next to Damnia, Pliny disposes the *Mizi* and *Drimati*. The *Mizi* answer to the people of *Masora;* the *Drimati* to the inhabitants of *Bunder Djurahm:* two sea-ports marked, in the East India Company's chart, at opposite sides of Ras al Hhad.

One existing sea-port only, on this coast, *Kuriat*, at the mouth of the Moiesur river, is unnoticed by Pliny or Ptolemy: its antiquity, however, appears undoubted; for it is mentioned by Stephanus under the name of *Kurtaia*, as a city on the coast of the Erythræan sea, to which Artaxerxes banished the satrap Megabizus.* The site of Kurtaia, opposite Persia, thus unites with the name, to establish its identity with Kuriat.

In the *Didymi montes* and *Abissagi* of Ptolemy, a port and mountain-range on his southern coast of Omân, we trace the *Eodanda deserta* and *Basag* of Pliny: in other words, the port of the Gulf of *Bassas*†, with the Palheiros mountains behind it. These localities are connected

* Κυρταῖα, πόλις ἐν τῇ Ερυθρᾷ Θαλάσσῃ, εἰς ἣν ὑπερώρισεν Ἀρταξέρξης, Μεγάβυζον. — Steph. in voc.

† *Abissa* is simply *Al Bassas* — the gulf and port of Bassas — the article being incorporated with the name. It is clear, from his description of their position and products, that the *Abaseni* of Stephanus (*Al Baseni*), who lay east of Hadramaut, and whose territory produced *myrrh* and *frankincense*, were the inhabitants of Abissa, which joins the *Libanotophorus*. Ἀβασηνοί, ἔθνος Ἀραβίας· Οὐράνιος ἐν Ἀραβικῶν τρίτῳ· "Μετὰ τοὺς Σαβαίους, Χατραμῶνται καὶ Ἀβασηνοί·" καὶ πάλιν· "ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἀβασηνῶν

with a people, and with events, which transport us, from the days of the Greeks and Romans, to our own country and times. The *Bliulæi*, a people of southern Arabia, are placed by Ptolemy in conjunction with his *Omanitæ*. Their name and their position determine, beyond all doubt, the identity of the *Bliulæi* with the Beni *Boo-Allee* Arabs; a race of pirates, whose sea-port lies, apparently, on the Gulf of Bassas, and their strong-hold in the Palheiros mountains behind it; and whose ferocious bravery will long be memorable in the annals of our Indian empire, for the annihilation of one considerable British force, and the desperate resistance which it opposed to a second, and overwhelming expedition. How little could Ptolemy or Pliny have foreseen, when they described these wild localities, that Britain, the remotest province of the West, become in her turn "the first of the nations," should one day summon her armies from conquered India, from realms where the Roman eagles never flew, to land at Tsor, and level with the dust of their deserts the mountain fastness of the Bliulæi!

σμύρνην φέρει, καὶ ὄσσον, καὶ θυμίαμα, καὶ κέρπαθον." Uranius adds, "γεωργοῦσι δὲ καὶ πορφορῆν ποίην εἰκέλην αἵματι Τυρίου κοχλίεω." (Steph. in voc.) This is clearly the *indigo* plant. Is indigo still cultivated in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Bassas? Mr. Cruttenden found it in Yemen, at Dorah: "We found the fig, plantain, orange, citron, and a little *indigo*, growing among the coffee."—Journey from Mokhá to Sana'á, ap. Journal of Royal Geographical Society, vol. viii. p. 278.

East of the Bliulæi, under the mountains of the Asabi, Ptolemy disposes the Kottabani: these (we have elsewhere seen*) are the Beni Kahtan Arabs, whose Bedouin encampments extend to the mountains of Omân. The name and site of one of their towns, Ptolemy's vicus *Jerachum*, on his *Lar fluvius*, are perfectly preserved in *Djâr* or Osjan, a town of Omân, on the *Zar river*. In the same neighbourhood, Ptolemy supplies the following materials for further restorations: . . . *Rhabana Regia* answers well, in name and position, to *Gabrin; Chabuata* to *Gabbi;* and *Appa* to *Afi* or *Ophor*. On the other, or southern side of the mountains, Pliny's *Fons Dora* and people of the *Darræ*, we naturally refer to the town of *Dahra* and its inhabitants; as, in the opposite direction, towards Cape Mussendom, his *Glari* seems not an improbable contraction for the people of *Dsjulfar*.

The very imperfect acquaintance betrayed, alike by ancient and modern authorities, with the inland parts of Omân†, has induced me to include what scanty information we possess on this head, within the present section, as too slight for separate examination.

* Vol. I. § ii.

† Parts of the interior were visited by the late Lieutenant Wellsted; but owing to the very few localities noticed by the ancients, there is little light to be gained from his topography of the country.

SECTION V.

INLAND DISTRICTS.

IN their geography of the interior, the ancients have not failed to distinguish the names, and define the relative positions, of the various tribes who inhabited the borders, or wandered over the wastes, of the Desert Arabia. With rare exceptions, however, their descriptions in this quarter are too general, and the limits of "the mingled people that dwell in the wilderness" too vague and uncertain, for our guidance in the exact verification of the classical, from the modern geography of these parts. Thus we learn from Ptolemy, that the tracts lying from north to south, along the Euphrates and Babylonia, were tenanted by the Cauchabeni, the Æsitæ, the Marteni, Masani, and Orcheni; those on the opposite side, bordering on Syria, by the Catanii and Batanæi; the central desert, by the Agræi; and the inland parts, adjoining the mountain-frontier of Arabia Felix, by the Agubeni and Raabeni. His description, however, rather indicates the direction, than defines the positions, of these several tribes.

Of the denominations themselves, some, as the Æsitæ and Batanæi, are evidently territorial; others, as the Cauchabeni (Beni Cauchab, or "sons of the stars," the astronomers of the Chaldean border) are characteristic; the remainder, apparently, are patronymics. Among these last, we can have no difficulty in recognizing the Katanii and Agræi of Ptolemy, in the Bedouin Kahtanys and Hagarenes; the former of whom, we are informed by Burckhardt*, range the northern desert, at the present day, from Basra to the neighbourhood of the Hauran and Aleppo. Their inland position, on the frontier of Arabia Felix and in the neighbourhood of *Thauba*, would appear to fix the Agubeni, or "Beni Ayûb," at or near *O Daib*, the only settled habitation of man in the central desert. The denominations of Nebi Ayûb, a town on the Euphrates, and of Djebel Ayûb, a mountain of the Hedjaz, would further indicate, as has been elsewhere observed, the more wide diffusion of the name and race. But a Niebuhr, or a Burckhardt is wanting to restore them.

It is not until we approach the frontier of the ancient Arabia Felix, or the mountain range which stretches across the neck of the peninsula, that the evidence of names and localities becomes

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabees, p. 217.

fully available. The positions of towns or tribes are, henceforward, often checked, and sometimes determined, by cross lines, drawn from the Arabian or the Persian Gulf. In adjusting the topography of a country inhabited by a more dense and settled population, the more known places or people throw light upon the less known; while the researches of the closet are now continually corrected, or confirmed, by the personal observation, or the exact inquiries on the spot, of European science.

SCENITÆ.

In entering on his delineation of the Happy Arabia, Ptolemy pauses only to describe and dismiss in one word, under the common denomination of *Scenites*, those nomadic tribes bordering its mountains on the north, who in every age of the world have pitched their tents, and pastured their flocks and herds, alternately, in the sands of the Al Dana, or in the valleys of Nedjid. Among other hordes of the northern desert, I would observe in passing, that, under this common name, seems merged the great Bedouin tribe of Aeneze, which, both in site and habits, falls peculiarly under Ptolemy's description.

SARACENI, OR ZAMARENI.

Next to the Scenitæ on the south, the Alexandrine geographer disposes the Saraceni; a name and race described by Marcian as extending across the neck of the peninsula, from gulf to gulf. As they stand thus placed in contrast with the "dwellers in tents," the Saraceni of Ptolemy must be a people with fixed abodes. Now the first settlers inland, next to the great northern desert, are the powerful tribe of Beni Shammar, inhabiting the mountain districts of Djebal and Belad Shammar. In this formidable race, (whose Bedouin encampments still, as of old, extend to the Euphrates,) while, by their geographical position, we are thus enabled to recover the Saraceni of Ptolemy and Marcian, . . . by the evidence of names we are conducted to the further restoration of the *Zamareni* of Pliny. That the Zamareni of Pliny and the Shamarys, or Beni Shammar of Burckhardt, are the same Arab tribe, might be rested on the coincidence of name alone, had not the Roman geographer happily supplied local landmarks to complete the verification. The Zamareni, Pliny informs us, possessed three chief towns, *Saiace*, *Scantate*, and *Bacas-Chamiri*. Readers conversant with the changes of nomen-

clature in the flexible idioms of the East, will easily recognize these classical names, in those of three towns of the Djebal and Belad Shammar; viz. *Saiace*, in *Sekiale* or *Saiak*, *Scantate*, in *Kin*, and *Bacas-Chamiri*, in *Sbica*, or *Sbica Shamary*.

In their respective inland surveys of the peninsula and its inhabitants, Ptolemy and Pliny, it may be well here to notice once for all, pursue very different methods: while the former preserves the same exact order and connection, so observable in his geography of the coasts, the latter appears to group his objects somewhat arbitrarily, according to rules of connection in his own mind, and rather with reference to the relations of longitude or latitude, than with strict regard to their juxta-position. An example in point presents itself, at the parts we have now arrived at. From the Zamareni, or Djebal Shammar, Pliny carries his eye westward, along the same parallel of latitude, into Arabia Petræa, and the district of the Autei, to Ebode, the seat of the Helmodenes, and to Emischabales, that of the Agacturi. That we are upon sure ground in these verifications, will appear from the joint evidences of Ptolemy, and of the actual geography of these parts. For the *Autei* of Pliny are, very plainly, the Beni *Atye* of Burckhardt; the actual

inhabitants, at this day, of Ptolemy's Munichi*atis*, or the desert of *Tyh* and its vicinity. Immediately north of this region, again, the occurrence, in Ptolemy, of the town of *Eboda*, determines the site of Pliny's *Ebode*: while, north-west of Eboda, there is no mistaking the identity of his *Fons Emischabales*, the seat of the Agacturi, (which he erroneously renders "*oppidum* Camelorum") with the *Om-el-Gemal* of Burckhardt, literally, "The *Fountain* of the Camels," or "Camels' Well;" a town and watering-station still in being, in the direction of the ancient Ituræa, or Djedour.

From these detached specimens and guarantees of Pliny's general correctness, we may return, with increased confidence, to more central and important verifications.

NABATÆI AND THIMANEI.

In our survey of the Arabian coasts, we have already noticed the two great tribes, of the Nabatheans, and the Thimanei, Themi, or Beni Temyn, in their primitive and proper seats, at opposite sides of the peninsula; the former on the Arabian, the latter, on the Persian Gulf. But Pliny bespeaks attention to their inland

settlements, by his remarkable statement, that the most ancient authorities placed these widely-parted nations in juxtaposition with each other.* This juxta-position plainly implies their meeting, in the progress of settlement, at some central point. The point of junction, if still capable of being ascertained, can hardly fail to throw important light on the classical geography of the interior.

Now it fortunately happens that the incidental statement of Pliny is fully borne out, by the independent authorities of Ptolemy, of Strabo, and of Abulfeda.

1. Ptolemy informs us, that the Nabatheans extended, in an eastern direction, to the western foot of the famous Zames Mons, or Mount Zametas.† And, whatever difficulties may stand in the way as to determining its precise position, there cannot be a question, that the Mount Zametas of the ancients was a mountain of the interior, and should be sought for among the mountains of Nedjd.

2. Strabo, in his account of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, corroborates (as will appear in my notice of that expedition) the statements of both

* Nabatæis Thimaneos junxerunt veteres. —vi. 32.

† Εἶτα παρὰ τὸν Ζάμηταν τὸ ὄρος, ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως αὐτοῦ, Ναπαταῖοι. —vi. 7.

Pliny and Ptolemy, as to the inland settlements of the Nabatheans; since Aretas, the friend and ally of the Romans, the seat of whose rule will be shown to have lain in Kasym, was himself, according to Strabo, *the kinsman of Obodas*, and, consequently, *a Nabathean.*

3. As the Nabatæi and Thimanei met, somewhere, at a central point, and as the former people certainly reached to the western foot of Mount Zames, . . . it is clear that, if the settlements of the latter can be shown to terminate on an inland mountain range, that mountain range must be the Zames Mons of the ancients. That the settlements of the Thimanei, in point of fact, did so terminate, stands attested by the unquestionable authority of Abulfeda; who, in his Arabian geography, distinguishes the town of *Ramah* (the *Marata* of Ptolemy), seated on the lofty range north of Derayeh, near its western extremity, as *the last town of the Beni Temyn.** In the mountains of Ramah or Sumama, in the heart of Nedjd, we thus apparently recover, at once, the true point of junction of the Nabatæi and Thimanei, and (a desideratum of the highest value for the adjustment of the classical geography of the interior) the true position of the ancient Mount Zametas.

* رامه ... وهي اخر بلاد بني تميم.—Descript. Arab. pp. 11, 12.

But, if the latter inference be correct, it will be borne out by our further success, in the recovery, in this neighbourhood, of the several people and places, which are disposed, by Ptolemy, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Zametas. The more closely the case is tried by this test, the more strongly will the proof be established.

MASÆMANES.

The Arab tribe thus named by Ptolemy, is the first of the several tribes mentioned by him in connection with his Zames Mons, at the foot of which range he describes them as seated. The description answers most exactly, both as to name and position, to the Beni *Saman* or *Shaman*, a strong tribe of Nedjd, inhabiting the country immediately north of the mountains of Sumama. This warlike people is noticed by Burckhardt, as, in conjunction with the Aenezes, fiercely disputing, with the Meteyr and Beni Kahtan Arabs, the exclusive right of pasturage in Nedjd.* As we proceed to adjust, after Ptolemy's order, the adjoining tribes, we shall find, at each step, fresh confirmation of the identity of his Masæmanes with the Beni Shaman.

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 400, 401.

VADENI.

In juxtaposition with the Masæmanes, and, like them, as borderers on the confines of his Zames Mons, Ptolemy next notices a tribe called Vadeni (Ουαδήνοι). The name is territorial. The *Wadeni* correspond accurately, in name and site, with the inhabitants of *Wady* Sarr; a tract lying under the southern side of the mountains of Sumama, and described, by Burckhardt, as "a broad sandy valley with pasturage, which continues, for several days, towards Derayeh, through the district of Woshem."*

ASTAPENI.

East of Mount Zames, our author mentions the *Asateni* or *Astapeni*. His *Astapeni*, or *Beni Astan*, are obviously the tribe or tribes border-

* That Wady Sarr was, anciently, the seat of a settled people, we learn with certainty from Captain Sadlier's description; who passed through this valley, on his route from Derayeh to Medina. "Leaving Deriah to the right, we soon entered a deep ravine, by a very abrupt descent, and continued a N.N.W. route through a sandy rùn, which appeared to be the bed of a torrent; and halted at 4 P.M. at Oineeah, anciently Deriah. *This is an extensive valley of ruins*, in which are some inhabitants, and very extensive date plantations and fig trees. *The valley has also, at some former period, been well peopled;* but now presents a scene of wretchedness." (MS. Journal.) It is satisfactory to obtain this confirmation of the position of Ptolemy's *Vadeni*; whom, years before I had obtained access to Captain Sadlier's Journal, I had been led, in the course of my arrangement of Ptolemy's positions, to identify with the inhabitants of Wady Sarr. Compare Burckhardt ut supra, p. 398.

ing on the *Astan* river, in the province of Lachsa or El Ahsa, and lying, as described, to the eastward of the great Sumama range. This verification is strengthened by the name standing next in order.

IOLISITÆ.

Seated, like the Astapeni, eastward of Mount Zames, we easily and safely recognize, in the *Iolisitæ* of Ptolemy, the adjoining tribes of the neighbouring province of *El Ahsa*, the district which borders the mountains of Sumama on the east.

KATANITÆ.

The country south of Mount Zames, Ptolemy peoples with the Katanitæ. These are the Bedouin Kahtanys, already alluded to, belonging to the great southern tribe of Beni Kahtan: "large parties of whom (Burckhardt informs us) pasture their cattle in the province of Nedjed; where they make common cause with the Meteyr tribe against the Aenezes and Beni Shaman.

TANUITÆ.

The *Tanuitæ*, a tribe placed by Ptolemy adjoining the Katanitæ, to the south, are the *Tanu-*

chitæ of Arabian history; a tribe of emigrants from Yemen, who, after the flood of Aram, settled at Hagar in Bahrein.*

MANITÆ.

The position of Ptolemy's *Manitæ*, west of his Katanitæ, and of Zames Mons, together with the near resemblance of name, implies their being the same with the *Mezeyne* of Burckhardt; the most eastern of the Harb tribes, situated on the borders of Kasym, in the line of country between Medina and Derayeh.

SALAPENI.

The Manitæ were bordered on the north by the Salapeni; whose classical name most plainly marks (as we have previously noticed) their Joktanite origin. These are the Meteyr, (the next neighbours, northward, of the Mezeyne); a tribe, whose Joktanite origin is doubly proved, by their name in Ptolemy, and by their close confederacy with the Kahtanys of Nedjd, mentioned by Burckhardt. The geographical posi-

* Tanuchitæ vocabantur, quia *subsistebant* (تنخ) apud fontem Hagari (هجر, urbis primariæ in Bahrein) ibique fœdus sanciebant. — Rasmussen, Hist. Præcip. Arab. Regn. ante Islam. p. 18.

tion of the Meteyr, as reported by this traveller, tallies accurately, also, with the quarter in which the Ptolemaic distribution of the tribes surrounding Mount Zames, would naturally lead us to seek the Salapeni. "*Meteyr* (or, as they are sometimes denominated, *Emteyr*) are a strong tribe, consisting of twelve hundred horsemen, and from six to eight thousand matchlocks. They live in Nedjd, chiefly in Kasym, and from thence on towards Medina."*

We have now made the circuit of the country surrounding the great central Nedjd range, or the mountains north of Derayeh; and have recovered, in the tribes now actually inhabiting it, in most instances with certainty, in all with good probability, the tribes disposed by Ptolemy around Mount Zametas. If, to the proof of its identity with the Sumama range, thus furnished by the coinciding names and positions of the surrounding tribes, can be added one derived from an equally exact correspondence, in those of the ancient and the modern localities of these mountains themselves, the restoration, it is conceived, will be complete. Of this fresh, and independent proof, it may suffice to adduce the following examples: viz. *Ramah* answering to *Marata*, *Aarûd* to *Gorda*, *Bubban* to *Biabanna*,

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 233.

Salemia to *Salma*, *Idara* or *Arre* to *Derayeh*: names of places, all disposed, by Ptolemy, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Zames, and all found, at the present day, in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains of Sumama. In these mountains, therefore, (may it not be pronounced without reserve) is restored to classical geography the Zames Mons of antiquity; and, in it, the chief key to the classical geography of the interior; which branches, as from a common centre, from this key-point.

In reviewing Ptolemy's survey of these inland parts, his geography of the inland country lying west, and south-west, of Mount Zames, claims more special attention; because on its correct adjustment will be found to depend the settlement of one of the important unsettled questions in the classical geography of Arabia, . . . the site of the *Minæi*. The seat of this great commercial people, who divided with the Gerræi the commerce of the peninsula, (transported by d'Anville to the heart of Yemen, and by Vincent to the country of the Asyr Arabs,) assuredly lay, if any reliance whatever may be placed in the position of Ptolemy, in an inland direction, east-south-east of Mecca. For the Minæi, according to him, lay immediately south of the *regio interior myrrifera*, and this, again, was situated due south

of the Manitæ. The Manitæ being the same with the Mezeyne, this description would identify the *interior myrrifera* with the fruitful mountain region east of Tayf*, and the Minæi, consequently, with the great Ateybe tribe, described, by Burckhardt, as the most numerous of the tribes of Hedjaz, and inhabiting the rich inland country stretching eastward, under those mountains, from Lye and Kolákh to Taraba.

Before we proceed with the proofs of these verifications, I would notice two restorations in this neighbourhood, to which we are conducted by Pliny.

ACHOALI: CARREI.

The Achoali and Carrei are placed together by Pliny, in an enumeration of Arab tribes evidently proceeding from north to south; and, as they are also placed in conjunction with the Minæi, who lay next them on the south, the positions of those tribes, supposing the names to be recoverable in the modern geography of the

* Its site, with that of its inhabitants the Minæi, may be determined independently, by the concurrent testimonies of Ptolemy and Pliny: the former places his *Chargatha*, and the latter his *Karriata*, in conjunction with the Minæi. The town thus denominated is clearly that of *Kariatain*: but Kariatain is seated beneath, or rather upon, the mountains of Tayf.

country, while they throw light upon each other, must doubly reflect light upon that of the Minæi. But Pliny supplies a two-fold clue for the recovery of those tribes, by his mention of the names, not only of the people, but of their respective chief towns: *Phoda*, according to him, being the seat of the *Achoali*, and *Carriata*, that of their neighbours the *Carrei*. Now, in the actual geography of the interior, all the four names, with the slightest possible modifications, stand grouped together, in the very quarter where our previous adjustments of the classical geography would lead us to look for them, . . . the range of mountains running north-eastward from Tayf, on the confines of the territory already, independently, assigned to the Minæi. For *Phoda* and the *Achoali* answer, almost to the letter, to *Soda* and the *Ageyl;* an ancient tribe, now, as anciently, "scattered about in small numbers among the villages of Nedjd*:" and *Cariatha* and the *Carrei*, to the neighbouring town of *Kariatain*, and its inhabitants. At this point, Ptolemy comes well in, to fix the topography: his *Kariatha*, corresponding in site with *Kariatain;* and being located, like the *Carriata* of Pliny, on the borders of the Minæi. Colonel Chesney's account of the great Ageyl tribe comes in still more

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 232.

happily, to illustrate, at once, the site, and the rank among their countrymen, of Pliny's Achoali. "The Aggiel Arabs are the most general carriers of the desert; *their chief place is at Nedjd, near Mecca.* They call themselves two millions, and may possibly be 300,000 or 400,000. They hire themselves out to serve as soldiers to the different pachas. Many are settled at Dewania, and other places along the Euphrates; others go along with their camels in search of employment; and the remainder live in the desert. This tribe [a decisive proof of their *antiquity*], according to their own account, was one of the original conquerors of Spain; and they still bear the standard of that nation, which they brought with them, when they came lately to assist in the defence of Bagdad."*

MINÆI.†

By the preceding adjustment, the site of this famous inland people seems pretty well deter-

* Reports on the Navigation of the Euphrates, p. 44.

† It will be seen, as we proceed, that the chief seats of the Minæi lay in the neighbourhood of Mecca. The site of their capital, Carman Reg. or Karn al Manzil, within a few miles of Wady *Mina*, suggests the not improbable derivation of their name, from that famous seat of the idolatry of ancient Arabia. مِنى seu مِنِي i. q. مِنِيّ Locus seu vallis quædam Meccæ, ubi sacrificia mactantur. — Al Giuhari ap. Gol. in voc.

mined on the north: if we may trust the joint authority of Pliny and Ptolemy, the Minæi lay south of Keriatain, or in the plains below the mountain chain running east-north-east from Tayf. Let us now check the assigned position from the opposite side, and see how far their southern consists with their northern boundary. On the south, according to Ptolemy, the Minæi were bounded by the *Doreni*, and the *Mokoretæ*: it is impossible to mistake, in the *Doreni*, the inhabitants of *Zohran*, or in the *Mokoretæ*, those of *Mekhra*; two adjoining provinces, lying south of Mecca and Tayf, and crossing the entire space between the sea and the uninhabited desert. This decisive verification shuts in the ancient Minæi, between the mountains of Zohran and Mekhra, and those north of Tayf.

If, within the tract of country comprized between these limits, we are able to verify Pliny's report of the chief towns, the territory, and the national habits of the Minæi, there cannot, it is conceived, remain a reasonable doubt, that we are here upon the right ground, and among the right people.

Now, of the towns named, by Pliny, as chief seats of the Minæi, that of the *Charmæi* (the *Carman* Regia of Ptolemy) finds its representative in *Karn-al-Manzil*, a considerable town still

in being between Tayf and Mekka; *Maribba* Baramalacum (Ptolemy's *Maraba* or *Baraba* Metropolis), in Taraba, in the great eastern plain; and Carnon, in *Karn-al-Magsal*, upon the mountains south of Tayf.

We learn, from Burckhardt, that the great Ateybe tribe forms the main population of the surrounding country. "The country about Taraba, and thence to Kolákh, is inhabited by the Ateybe Arabs, the most numerous of the Hedjaz tribes:" again, "About Lye and Kolákh, live the Arabs of the Ossama tribe, who form part of the great Ateybe tribe:" "Proceeding eastward from Tayf, we find, at Ossoma, a tribe of Ateybe."*

Let Pliny's account of the soil and products of the country of the Minæi now, in conclusion, be compared, with Burckhardt's account of that of the Ateybe Arabs.

The Minæi, Pliny tells us, inhabited plains equally rich *in groves of palms*, and other *fruit-trees;* and in pastures for cattle, in which their wealth principally consisted.†

"To the east of that chain, [the Hedjaz mountains]," observes Burckhardt, "are the plains

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 382, 383.

† Minæis, fertiles agros palmetis arbustisque, in pecore divitias.—vi. 32.

inhabited by the powerful tribe of Ateybe, whose territory extends as far south as Tayf. Their pasturing grounds are excellent. They possess great abundance of camels and sheep: they have also horses."* "Taraba is a considerable town, as large as Tayf, and *remarkable for its plantations*, that furnish all the surrounding country with dates. Taraba is environed *with palm-groves and gardens*, watered by numerous rivulets."†

The date groves, and fruit gardens of Tayf, are not less celebrated than those of Taraba. The union of these features with plains of rich pasture, covered with flocks and herds, seems peculiar to this part of the country. And as this whole region is the seat of the Ateybe Arabs, there is no one circumstance of agreement wanting to the proof, that, in the Ateybe of Burckhardt, we recover the descendants and representatives of the Minæi of Pliny.

Although, however, d'Anville is greatly in error, in carrying (in the face of the consenting testimonies of Pliny and Ptolemy) the central seat of the ancient Minæi, at least seven degrees south of their true position, to Almakarana in Yemen, it still is certain, from Pliny's statement, that this people possessed a key to the commerce

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 238.

† Travels in Arabia, ii. 382, 383.

of the incense country, by having obtained the command of one of the two passes into the Djebal al Kamûr.

From Pliny's account we gather, that the incense trade was originally set on foot, and chiefly carried on, by the commercial enterprize of the Minæi; who, with this object, appear to have formed a factory, or commercial settlement, on the southern side of these mountains; whence the incense was conveyed inland through a mountain-pass, evidently in their possession. Now as of the two emporiums of the trade in incense and myrrh noticed by him, on the southern coast, one, *Ausara*, lay in the kingdom of the Gebanitæ, we are left to infer, that the other was that belonging to the Minæi: an inference which at once conducts us to Thauane or Doan, and to the mountain-pass immediately behind it.

Due attention to this southern settlement of the Minæi, together with our improved knowledge of the interior, may now enable us to clear up a difficulty in the incense-trade, connected with the line of inland carriage, which neither Bochart, nor Vincent, was able to overcome. Upon this point, the latter writer observes as follows:... "The conveyance of this drug by land, Pliny informs us, was through Thomna, the capital of the Gebanites, to Gaza on the coast

of Palestine, by a caravan that was sixty-two [sixty-five] days in its progress.... The course of this conveyance is not easy to comprehend; for, if the commodity passed by a caravan, *the Minéans were centrical*, and the usual carriers from Gerrha on the Gulph of Persia, as well as from Hadramaút and Sabêa, to Petra in Idumêa?"*

Correctly concluding, with Bochart, the Gebanitæ to be the same people with the Katabeni, but partaking, at the same time, his erroneous supposition, that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Katabania, in the south-western angle of the peninsula, were the only people of the name, Dean Vincent, from these premises, justly argues, that, as Thomna, their capital, where the incense merchants paid tribute, must, on this supposition, have lain in the territory of Maphartis, near the coast, "they would move, not by caravans, but by sea." According to this view of the position of Thomna and the Gebanitæ, the course of conveyance is certainly not easy to comprehend. But the difficulty will readily disappear, if it can be shown, that it has its rise solely in a mistake as to the true site of the Gebanitæ here spoken of. The site of Pliny's Gebanitæ is determined by his mention of their chief towns, *Thomna* and *Nagiah*.

* Commerce and Navigation of the Indian Ocean, vol. ii. p. 339.

Thomna, indeed, does not appear in the modern geography of Arabia, but Nagiah, fortunately, is still in being, and seated inland, long. 46° 20′, lat. 18° 40′, between two and three degrees to the south-east of Nedjran and Beishe. Its near connection with Nagia, as lying within the same territory, and its recorded distance of sixty-five caravan days' journey from Gaza, concur in placing the Tamna of Pliny also in this neighbourhood, somewhat more to the south, and, consequently, in identifying it with Ptolemy's Thumna, the seat of his Kithebanitæ, situated in lat. 17° 15′.

That we are here upon the very ground of Pliny's Gebanitæ, can now be brought to a decisive test by the aid of Burckhardt; from whom we learn, that the whole country round Nagiah is peopled by the Beni Kahtan Arabs; the great tribe whose name is variously disguised in the classical geographers, under the modifications of Katabeni, Kithebanitæ, and Gebanitæ. "About three or four days' journey to the E. and S.E. of Beishe, the plain is covered with numerous encampments of *the Kahtan Arabs?*" * Again, "southward of Wady Beishe are the *Beni Kahtan*, a large tribe, the strongest and most

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 384.

considerable *between the Ateybe and Hadramaút.*"*

Instead, therefore, of being sought, after the notion of Bochart and Vincent, in the ancient Katabania, the Gebanitæ of Pliny are found, at this day, in their descendants the Beni Kahtan, where he has disposed them, in the neighbourhood of Nagiah; and still interposed between the Ateybe and Hadramaút, as they had been, anciently, between Hadramaút and the Minæi. By this verification, the course of the incense caravans, and the tribute of one fourth exacted at Tamna, by the king of the Gebanitæ, are rendered perfectly intelligible: the direct inland route from the incense mountains passing necessarily through his territory; and the Minæi of the interior being thus unavoidably dependent, for their communications with their settlement on the coast, on their powerful and warlike neighbours of the south-eastern plains.

SABÆI.

The position of Ptolemy's inland Sabæi is well determined, by his statement, that they lay south of the Minæi, and adjoining the *Mocoretæ*. And, in

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 243.

the very position thus clearly assigned them, we recover this people, at the present day, in the Beni *Sabya* of Burckhardt: a tribe seated still, as of old, in the district adjoining that of *Mekrah* on the east; their chief town being Ranye.*

ANCHITÆ OR BACHILITÆ.

These Sabæi of Ptolemy are followed, on the south, by his *Anchitæ*. For the recovery of this people, we require the united lights of Ptolemy, Pliny, Stephanus, and Burckhardt. It is known that the same Arab tribe frequently goes under several different names, . . . that of the ancestor, that of their territory, or one derived from some distinguishing characteristic. The Anchitæ of Ptolemy seem an example in point: for their name indicates a branch of the Kahtanys or Beni Kahtan; their geographical position, next to the Sabæi or Beni Sabya, argues them the same people with the *Bachilitæ* of Ptolemy, or the inhabitants of *Beishe*, or Baisath Joktan; while *Sylæum*, a town placed by Ptolemy in their territory, appears, from its site, to be identical with Beishe, and, from its name, to be, not improbably, the seat of the *Salamii* of Stephanus, or "the sons of peace," so

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 243.

called from their alliance with the Nabatheans.* Now, if all these indications are found to concur, at this point, in the actual geography of the neighbourhood, the identification would seem to be made good. Their concurrence is established by the following statement of Burckhardt: "At Ranye are the *Beni Sabya*, and about *Wady Beishe*, the *Beni Sálem*, whose numbers amount to five thousand matchlocks. Southward of them are the *Beni Kahtan*, a large tribe; the strongest and most considerable between the Ateybe and Hadramaút." The origin of the titular name Beni Sálem or Soualeme, we learn from Stephanus: that they, also, are Kahtanys, is proved by the name of their chief town, Baisath *Joktan*, the most ancient denomination of Beishe†: that they are the branch of the great Kahtan tribe styled by Ptolemy Anchitæ, appears, lastly, from the fact, that the Sabæi, the Anchitæ, and the Kithibanitæ, follow each other in precisely the same order in his distribution, as that in which the Beni Sabya, the Beni Sálem, and the Beni Kahtan of the south-eastern plain, succeed each other in Burckhardt.

* Σαλάμιοι, ἔθνος Ἀράβων· Σάλαμα δὲ, ἡ εἰρήνη· Ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνσπονδοι γεγονέναι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. — Steph. Byz. in voc.

† Jectanis nomen hodiéque incorruptum superest, in urbe territorii Mechensis בישת יקטן, *Baisath-Jektan*. — Bochart, Geogr. Sacr., lib. ii. cap. xv. ap. tom. iii. c. 98.

KITHIBANITÆ, OR GEBANITÆ.

The people thus variously denominated by Ptolemy and Pliny, are plainly the Beni Kahtan Arabs last alluded to, or the main body of this great tribe; whose central seat is still, where Pliny places that of the Gebanitæ, at *Nagiah;* and whose encampments are described, by Burckhardt, as covering, for several days' journey, the plains extending south-east of Beishe, in the direction of Hadramaút.

MADASARA.

Adjoining his Kithibanitæ on the south, Ptolemy inserts a town, or district, named *Madasara.* For *M*adasara, read *V*adasara, and we have here the *Wadi Dowáser* of Burckhardt; a district bounding, to the south, the territory of the Beni Kahtan of the south-eastern plain, and inhabited by a tribe of the same name. "South-east of Beishe, four or five days, live the Dowáser Arabs during the winter." "The Beni Dowáser [are] a wild tribe, but little connected with any settlers.*

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 385., and Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 243.

SOPHANITÆ.

In similar juxtaposition with the Kithibanitæ, or Bedouin Kahtanys of the south-eastern plain, we find, in Ptolemy, a tribe named *Sophanitæ*. These are the *Beni Sofyán*, the Bedouin branch of the powerful Thekyf tribe; the main body of which inhabits the country about Tayf, and along the eastern declivity of the great Hedjaz chain of mountains. They are thus noticed by Burckhardt: "The principal tribes of the Thekyf are *Beni Sofyán*, who live *altogether as Bedouins*."* The roving habits of these Beni Sofyán, which brought them thus into contact with their more southern neighbours the Kahtanys, render it less easy to ascertain the point of contact, than in the preceding examples of more settled tribes. The position of their main tribe, the Thekyf, along the eastern side of the Hedjaz mountains, sufficiently marks, however, that the line of contact lay north of the south-eastern plains, or towards Tayf and Taraba.

MARITHÆ MONTES.

For the recovery and adjustment of the few remaining inland tribes and positions, Ptolemy

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 242.

takes the Marithæ Montes, on the opposite side of the peninsula, as the point of reference. A close analysis of the surrounding localities identifies these mountains with the inland range south of the Astan river; in other words, with the mountains of Yemama.

MAOCOSMUS * METROPOLIS: AMATHEI.

In this quarter, our attention is first arrested by two names, the one answering, apparently, to that of the capital, the other to that of the people, of this central province: for the *Maocosmus Metropolis* of Ptolemy is an easy amplification of the city, and the *Amathei*, an inland tribe mentioned by Pliny, an easy contraction for the inhabitants, of *Jemâma*. As, according to Mr. Sale, "the chief city, Jemâma, which gives name to the province, was anciently called *Jaw* †," ... the native, it appears, prepared the way for classical modifications of this name. The probability of these restorations will be found to gain strength, as we trace, in Ptolemy and Pliny, the neighbouring localities.

* *Palat.* MS. Μαοσκόπος.

† Preliminary Dissertation, p. 7.

LABRIS: INAPHA: RHADAMÆI.

In the neighbourhood of his *Nascus**, *Maoscopus*, or *Maocosmus* Metropolis (for the MSS. supply three versions of the name), Ptolemy notices, in one direction, the town of *Labris*, in another, the town or district of *Inapha*. In the actual topography, *Labris* reappears in *El Jabrïn*, and *Inapha*, in the seat of the *Hanifah* Arabs; two localities immediately adjoining Jemâma on the south, and south-east. D'Anville couples together, as adjoining tribes of Jemâma, the *Hanifah* and *Maddar*. While we clearly regain the site of the *Hanifah*, in the *Inapha* of Ptolemy, we, not improbably, recover their neighbours the *Maddar*, in the *Rhadamæi* of Pliny, . . . an inland tribe, mentioned by him in conjunction with the Minæi. The correspondence of position, here, concurs with the resemblance of name, in pointing to the Maddar; who are seated in nearly the same parallel of latitude, eastward of the Ateybe, . . . a tribe already identified with the Minæi. It may be added, in illustration of the connection indicated, by Pliny, between the Minæi and Rha-

* Pliny notices *Nessa*, as a chief town of the *Amathei*: "Amathei, cum oppidis *Nessa et* Cennesseri." (vi. 32.) The name of its inhabitants, obviously identifies it with the Nascus or Maoscopus of Ptolemy, the capital of Jemâma.

damæi, that the commercial intercourse of the former people with Gerrha, on the Persian Gulf, would necessarily bring them through the district, and thence, naturally, into confederacy with the Maddar Arabs, of Jemâma; who lie on the direct route between the Ateybe and Gerrha.

DACHAREMOIZÆ.

The *Dacharemoizæ* of Ptolemy, immediately to the north of his Marithæ Montes, correspond with great exactness as to site, and with sufficient closeness in name, to the inhabitants of the region of *Dar-al-Karamatah;* a district of Bahrein, described, by Abulfeda*, as remarkable for its fertility in dates; as extending, in a north-eastern direction, towards the Persian Gulf; and, consequently, lying north-east of the mountains of Jemâma.

ZEERITÆ.

The juxtaposition, in Ptolemy, of the *Zeeritæ* with the *Dacharemoizæ*, and the similar juxtaposition of the district named *Zedeyr* with that of *Dar-karamatah*, strongly countenances the pre-

* Descript. Arab. (Ap. Huds. G. V. M.) p. 65.

sumption, that the Zeeritæ were the inhabitants of Zedeyr. This tract is thus described by Burckhardt: "From Derayeh eastward towards the Persian Gulf, the country is called Zedeyr, as far as the limits of the province of El Hassa, six days distant from Derayeh." *

The agreements of name and neighbourhood are here so striking, that I could not feel justified in omitting this restoration in the map. But the district of Zedeyr lies north of the Marithæ Montes, while Ptolemy places the Zeeritæ south of them; and his topography is commonly so correct, that adjustments, in themselves the most probable, may well be received with distrust, when, as in the present case, at variance with the positions of this great geographer.

BLIULÆI: ALUMEOTÆ: OMANITÆ: JOBARITÆ: CHATRAMITÆ.

In describing the several Arab tribes, here enumerated, as all lying south of his Marithæ Montes, Ptolemy enables us to determine, by another test, the position of that range; which is thus checked by cross lines from the southern coast. Of the tribes themselves, some are too conspicuous, and others too obscure, to require

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 403.

separate notice, or many words. The Bliulæi and Alumeotæ appear to be the last Bedouin tribes of Nedjd, bordering on the uninhabited desert of Ahkaf. The *Jobaritæ*, next the Sachalitæ, are obviously the same with the *Beni Jubar;* a branch of which tribe, we learn from Niebuhr, is extant at this day in Yemen. The Omanitæ here in question, *west* of the Kottabani, are the inland tribes of Omân, towards Mahra. The Chatramitæ, or people of Hadramaút, in conclusion, are justly represented as the extreme southern boundary of this whole inland population.

CLIMAX MONS.

At the point now reached, the key-point of reference, by which to adjust his positions, is once more changed by Ptolemy, from the Marithæ Montes in Jemâma, to his Climax Mons in Yemen. His statement that it bounded the Chatramitæ on the west, or that, where Hadramaút ends, the Climax Mons begins, alone suffices to decide the identity of this range with the Nakhil or Djebal of Niebuhr.*

* Since the above was written, as the MS. is going to press, I discover, in the names themselves, taken in their connection with a *unique* feature inscribed on the face of this mountain region, demonstrable proof of the identity of Mount Climax with the Djebal Nakhîl. Assuming, for

MASSONITÆ: SARITÆ: SAPHARITÆ: RHATHINI: MAPHORITÆ: ARAGANITÆ.

Several of the restorations, here, are easy and obvious. The *Saritæ*, adjacent to Mount Climax on the south, are the people of *Saraca*, or *Ayal Sorah*, and of the district of *Al Saruat*. The

the present, the two names to be *significant*, there can be no doubt, that the Κλίμαξ Ὄρος of the Greeks, and the Djebal Nakhîl of the Arabs, have alike reference to something peculiar in the physical character of the district, or districts, to which they give name: "κλίμαξ, apud Græcos, *scalam* significat, *a ladder*." (Bailey ap. Faccioiat. in voc. Climax.) "نقيل *Via per montem.* نقل, Pedem anteriorem et posteriorem *diversis saxis* imposuit equus, egregiè incedens *per saxosum solum*." — Gol. in voc.

Let both denominations, Κλίμαξ Ὄρος ("Stair Mountain") and جبل نقيل ("Road," or "Stony-road Mountain"), be now compared with the actual character of the Djebal; and we can be at no loss for the common origin and application of its Greek, and of its Arabic name. For we learn from Niebuhr, that the Djebal, in general, is ascended by means of *pavés*, peculiar to this part of Yemen; and that the coffee-mountains, in particular, are literally *climbed*, either along *pavés*, ("on ne peut se servir sur ces montagnes ni d'ânes, ni des mulets; et il faut se résoudre à *grimper* sur la montagne escarpée par un chemin, &c."), or by flights of steps, or stone stairs, formed of slabs of natural rocks of a very peculiar formation ("il est facile de détacher ces pierres des rochers; aussi s'en sert-on, *pour en faire des marches sur le chemin*"), of which this part of the Djebal is composed. Representations of both kinds of ascent will be found in Niebuhr's plates (Planches lxiii. lxv.). For his notices of the paved mountain-roads, see tome 1. pp. 266. 274. 277. For their existence in this part of Yemen only, see note *, p. 277. For his very curious account of the mountain staircases, and of the rocks of which they are constructed, see, ut suprà, pp. 265, 266. As the Κλίμαξ Ὄρος, as described by Ptolemy, begins at this very part of the Djebal, nothing is wanting to the proof of its being so designated from these mountain staircases.

Sapharitæ, next the Homerites, are the inhabitants of Mount *Sabber*. The *Maphoritæ*, a people placed by Ptolemy behind the Homeritæ and Adramitæ of the southern coast, are the inhabitants of Wady Mayfah, whose capital was his Mœpha Metropolis; and must not be confounded with the people of *Maphartis* or *Mapharitis*: a region described, by Arrian, as reaching westward, to within three days' journey of Muza, on the Arabian Gulf.* The remaining denominations are more obscure. The position of the Masonitæ is uncertain. But Ptolemy's arrangement would seem to identify the *Araganitæ*, seated at *Araga*, under his Climax Mons, with the inhabitants of *Hagar* or Saud, a town of the Djebal, or mountain country of Yemen: while the tribe named by him *Rha*thini, adjoining the Sapharitæ and Homerites, present, in their classical name, an abridgement, apparently, of the Beni *Jerhä* or *Serhä* of Niebuhr, a tribe and district of Yemen, in the latitude of Zebid,

* Periplus, p. 13., ap. Hudson. — From the similarity of the names, confusion will be sure to take place, at this point, in adjusting the accounts of the two geographers, unless provided against by the most careful discrimination. Yet Ptolemy's Maphoritæ are not unnoticed by Arrian. They are the inhabitants of his *Aphar* Metropolis (the Mœpha of the Alexandrine geographer), the royal seat of Charibaël: hence, doubtless, Ptolemy's denomination, *Maphoritæ*. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ αὐτῆς [Μούζα scil.] ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν πόλις Σαύη, τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν Μαφαρίτιδος λεγομένης χώρας . . . . . καὶ μετ' ἄλλας ἐννέα ἡμέρας, Ἄφαρ μητρόπολις· ἐν ᾗ Χαριβαὴλ. — Ut suprà, p. 13.

whose position, next to Mount Sabbar, and the Homerites of the southern coast, perfectly answers to that assigned, by Ptolemy, to the Rhathini.

SABÆI AND HOMERITÆ: SABATHA METROPOLIS: SABBAR METROPOLIS.

According to native authorities, the once famous kingdom of the Sabeans of Yemen, . . . whose capital *Sabas* (agreeably to a known Arab usage) we learn from Agatharchides, gave name to, or rather received its name from, this illustrious people, . . . at a period seemingly long prior to our era, had yielded its supremacy to that of the Homerites: a race of conquerors from the north of the peninsula, whose commercial settlements we have already traced along the southern coast. Accordingly, in the age of Arrian, we find the two people united under the one king; a Homerite prince, whose seat of government was at Aphar. The respective positions of their capitals will best enable us to discriminate between the two nations.

SABAS, OR SABATHA METROPOLIS.

The *Sabas* of Agatharchides is obviously the same with the *Sabatha* of Ptolemy and Arrian;

a chief city of the interior, seated on a hill, situated due north of Kanè emporium, in lat. 16°20′. The site, the longitude, the latitude, all concur in identifying this metropolis with the Mâreb of the Arabs; which stands upon a hill, amidst an amphitheatre of mountains, due north of Hussan Ghoráb (the ancient Kanè), in about lat. 15° 50′ according to d'Anville.* In Mâreb, therefore, we have the metropolis of the kingdom and people of the Sabeans.

APHAR METROPOLIS.

The *Aphar* of Arrian, to which the seat of government had been transferred, by the Homerite conquerors, from Mâreb, would seem, to judge by the coincidence of name, to be the same with *Dhafar;* still, as anciently, one of the chief towns of Hadramáut. For Arrian states Aphar to be twelve days' journey from Musa †, a computation equivalent to about 220 miles, . . .

* From the joint authorities of Niebuhr, Wellsted, and Cruttenden, it appears that d'Anville's longitude of Mâreb is very incorrect. He makes it 150 miles E.N.E. of Sanaa; M. Niebuhr's calculation of the distance is only between seventy and eighty miles; map of Messrs. Wellsted and Cruttenden, two long days' journey.

† Ὑπέρκειται δὲ αὐτῆς [Μούσας] ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, πόλις Σαύη. . . . καὶ μετ' ἄλλας ἐννέα ἡμέρας, Ἄφαρ μητρόπολις· ἐν ᾗ Χαριβαὴλ, ἔνθεσμος βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν δύο, τοῦ τε Ὁμηρίτου, καὶ τοῦ παρακειμένου λεγομένου Σαβαείτου. — Arrian, Peripl. Mar. Eryth. p. 13. ap. Hudson, G. V. M.

the exact distance given, by d'Anville, between Moosa and Dhafar.

The probability is strengthened by a passage of Philostorgius, cited by Pocock, containing a notice of an embassy from Constantinople to Yemen, in the reigns of Constantine and Constantius. The ambassador, Theophilus, having been sent, as the representative of these emperors, to the people anciently named Sabeans, but now Homerites, and having earnestly exhorted their king to embrace Christianity, succeeded so far, as to obtain, from that monarch, leave for the erection of three churches within his dominions: namely, one *in the capital of the kingdom, Tafar;* another, in the city named Romanorum emporium, or Aden; and the third, in that denominated emporium Persarum, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.*

The question, however, still, is one of conflicting probabilities. In another place†, I have submitted the proofs, which would go to identify

* Scribit Philostorgius, libro tertio Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, . . . Theophilum olim, primum Constantini, deinde Constantii nomine, legatione functum ad eos, qui *olim Sabæi, tunc temporis Homeritæ*, vocabantur, . . . eum, qui tum genti præerat, ad Christi fidem amplectandam hortatum, ab ipso obtinuisse ut tres Christianis ecclesias in regione ista extrueret; unam in ipsa regionis metropoli *Tafar*, i. e. ظفار; alteram in Romanorum Emporio *Adane*, i. e. عدن; tertiam in Emporio Persarum, quod sinus Persici ostio adjacet." — Poc. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 85.

† Vol. II. pp. 193, 194.

the Aphar of Arrian with the Mæpha Metropolis of Ptolemy; and both denominations, with the ruins of Nakab el Hajar, unquestionably the seat of Arrian's *Charibaël*. Here is a difficulty; and I see but one way of removing it. If the longitude and latitude assigned, by d'Anville, to Dhafar, be at all correct, it must be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Nakab el Hajar. May not Dhafar have been the capital, and Nakab el Hajar (like our Windsor) the royal palace, at a distance from the town?

SECTION VI.

EXPEDITION OF ÆLIUS GALLUS.

AMONG the materials in our possession, which throw light on the classical geography of Arabia, none, unquestionably, are more curious, interesting, or authentic, than the notices, preserved by Strabo and the elder Pliny, of the expedition of Arabian discovery and conquest, planned by Augustus, and conducted by his lieutenant, Ælius Gallus, the Roman governor of Egypt. The narrative of Strabo in particular, the contemporary and personal friend of Gallus, could not fail, notwithstanding the scantiness of its details, to engage the attention of our first modern geographers. The contents of this narrative, accordingly, including the direction, extent, and term of the expedition, with the points of landing and of re-embarkation, have been the subject of much and various, though hitherto inconclusive, discussion. In the inferences deduced from Strabo and Pliny, regarding all these particulars, partly owing to the conciseness of the accounts themselves, but chiefly, it is conceived, to neglect of sober and circumspect examination, our highest authorities stand irre-

concilably at variance. Thus, by M. d'Anville (followed servilely by Mr. Gibbon *) the Roman army is conducted to the remote southern province of Hadramáut, the country of the Homerites, and to its famous capital Mâreb: by M. Gossellin, the line of march is directed on Medinah, and the expedition terminated before the walls of Mecca †: while our own learned Dean Vincent, adopting with Gossellin "the country of Medinah and Mecca" as the line of the Roman advance, differs from both his predecessors as to the position of Marsyaba, the term of the

* It is not to be wondered at, that this deference for d'Anville should have amounted to servility, when, as we are apprized in a note of the Decline and Fall, he (Mr. Gibbon) was unable to detect more than *one* error in the whole of M. d'Anville's maps and writings! "The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, ascertains the precise situation of the *Angustiæ Succorum*, or passes of *Succi*. M. d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sardica and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *only* error which I have discovered, in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer." (Decline and Fall, chap. xxii. note 33.) Admirable as he was in his walk of science, M. d'Anville, in common with all great geographers, has many and great errors; the historian, therefore, who, in the consultations carried on through "six quartos and twenty years," could detect but *one*, proves the shallowness of his own research, instead of the infallibility of his guide.

† The absurdity of this notion may be best exposed by comparison. The caravan route from Cairo to Mecca, a distance by the road of little less than 1000 miles, is performed, stoppages included, in thirty-seven days. (See Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, No. v.) Yet, according to M. Gossellin, the march from Moilah to Mecca, a distance, by the direct road, of little more than 500 miles, occupied a Roman army (whose ordinary rate of march is computed by Dr. Vincent at about fifteen miles a day) for six months!

invasion; justly remarking, that (the retreat of sixty days taken into account) "if the Mareb of d'Anville be too distant, the Mecca of Gossellin is too near;" and, again, "that Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo, all point to something farther south than Mecca."*

Amidst the learned dust raised by these conflicting opinions, our only prospect of obtaining light, as to the course actually pursued by the Roman army, plainly is by a return to the original authorities, the texts of Strabo and Pliny; and by a re-examination of their statements, with the eye fixed steadily on the key-points of their evidence, . . . the description of the route, the elucidations of this description supplied by names of localities, and the harmony, lastly, so essential to be preserved, yet so strangely overlooked, between the notes of *distance*, and the notes of *time*.

The facts on which the whole inquiry turns, may be given in a few words. The expedition under Gallus embarked from Cleopatris (a port of which the modern Suez is the representative) on board a fleet of one hundred and thirty transports, built expressly for the enterprize.† After

* Commerce and Navigation of the Indian Ocean, vol. ii. pp. 307. 309.

† Dean Vincent expresses himself, as if the eighty vessels of war, mistakenly built by Gallus prior to the construction of these transports, had

a voyage of fifteen days, the army, consisting of ten thousand Romans, a thousand Nabatheans, and five hundred Jews, landed at Leukè Komè, a port in the territory of Obodas, king of the Nabatheans, and the ally of Rome. From Leukè Komè, after the loss of the first year, owing to the sufferings of the troops from diseases peculiar to the climate*, the invading force advanced

accompanied them. Strabo, however, most plainly intimates that they were left behind at Cleopatris, on the discovery of their unsuitableness for this navigation.

* The singular diseases by which the Roman army was attacked and arrested at Leukè Komè seem proper to the coast of Hedjaz. Burckhardt's account of the unhealthiness of this coast supplies the best comment on the following passage of Strabo, although written without any allusion to it: —

"Εἰς γοῦν τὴν Λευκὴν κώμην κατῆρεν, ἤδη στομακάκκῃ τὲ καὶ σκελοτύρβῃ πειραζομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐπιχωρίοις πάθεσι, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ στόμα, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ σκέλη, παράλυσίν τινα δηλοῦντων, ἔκ τε τῶν ὑδρείων, καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν. ἠναγκάσθη. γοῦν τό, τε θέρος καὶ τὴν χειμῶνα διατελέσαι αὐτόθι, τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀκακτωμένος."

"My stay at Djidda was prolonged to three weeks, chiefly in consequence of *sore legs*, a disease *very prevalent* on this unhealthy coast, where every bite of a gnat, if neglected, becomes a serious wound. . . . The diseases prevalent in both towns [Mecca and Djidda] are much the same; and the coast of the Hedjaz is, perhaps, among the most unhealthy countries of the East. Intermittent fevers are extremely common, as are likewise dysenteries, which usually terminate in swellings of the abdomen, and often prove fatal. Few persons pass a whole year without a slight attack of these disorders; and *no stranger* settles at Mekka or Djidda, *without being obliged to submit, during the first months of his residence,* to one of these distempers; *a fact, of which ample proof was afforded in the Turkish army, under Mohammed Aly Pacha. . . . Sores on the legs,* especially on the shin-bone, *are extremely common* both at Mekka and Djidda; but more so at the latter place, where the dampness of the atmosphere renders their cure much more difficult; indeed, in that damp climate, the smallest scratch, or bite of any insect, if neglected, becomes

into the country, alternately through deserts and fertile tracts, under the treacherous guidance of Syllæus, the minister of Obodas, until it reached Marsyaba, the capital of the Rhamanites, in the neighbourhood of the region, or the emporium rather, of incense. From before this place, compelled, by want of water, to raise the siege, Gallus, having almost too late detected the treason of his guide, retreated precipitately by another, and far shorter route; and, re-embarking at Nera Komè, a port also in the kingdom of the Nabatheans *, returned, after a voyage of eleven days, by Myos Hormus, into Egypt. The advance occupied a space of six months: the retreat, a term of only sixty days. These are the leading facts.

The points of this summary first in import-

a sore, and, soon after, an open wound. Nothing is more common, than to see persons walking in the streets, *having on their legs sores of this kind*, which, if neglected, often corrode the bone. Their cure demands patience, *and, above all, repose*. . . . I believe that one fourth of the population of Djidda is constantly afflicted *with ulcers on their legs*." — Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, vol. i. pp. 182, 183. 446. and 448, 449. See also Wellsted, Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 253.

It is impossible to read these extracts, without feeling the *reality* they give to the seizure, the sufferings, and the long halt, of the Roman army. *The affection of the legs*, described as a *maladie du pays*, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the chief complaint spoken of: in any apparent difference as to the symptoms, the hearsay report of Strabo clearly must stand corrected by the eye-witness evidence of Burckhardt.

* Ὁδὸς μέχρι Νερῶς κώμης· ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ὀβόδα· κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττης. — Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1129.

ance to be adjusted, manifestly are, . . . the sites, of Leukè Komè, the landing-place, of Nera Komè, the place of re-embarkation, and of Marsyaba, the extreme limit of the invasion : since, if these three points can once be ascertained, we obtain sure landmarks, to which to refer the notes of time and distance, and by which to arrange the names of localities, furnished by Strabo and Pliny, with a view to the recovery of the entire route.

LEUKÈ KOMÈ. — M. d'Anville, justly assuming the name Leukè Komè (*the white town*) to be a translation from the Arabic, has happily identified the Leukè Komè of Strabo and Arrian with Haûra (or *the white town*) *, on the coast of Hedjâz ; a port about three hundred and fifty English miles from the head of the Gulf of Akaba. M. Gossellin and Dean Vincent reject this plain verification ; and, without any regard to coincidence of names (so commonly our best

* " At the distance of two miles from the beach, is the Hajj station, *El Hamá*, or Dar el Ashrin, *which enjoys a copious supply of water gushing from the rocks*, and abundance of herbage. In its vicinity, according to the report of the Arabs, *are some remains of buildings and columns.*" — (Wellsted, vol. ii. p. 195.) The two circumstances here noticed, — the plentiful supply of water, and the remains of buildings and columns, — greatly strengthen the proof arising from the name, that, in Haurá, we have the Leukè Komè of the ancients. In tracing the sites of ancient seaports, in these parts, the plenty and goodness of the water, in particular, will commonly be found our surest guide. Thus, Mr. Wellsted remarks of Myos Hormus, — " To the Caliphs, as to the Greeks, the advantage of *good water in the vicinity of its port*, rendered Myos Hormus a valuable station." — Vol. ii. p. 125.

index to eastern topography), assign Moilah *, a town nearly two hundred and fifty miles north of Haûra, as the true site of the Leukè Komè of the ancients. As M. Gossellin thinks fit to terminate the expedition of Gallus at Mecca, we can be at no loss for the cause of his dissent: the glaring absurdity of supposing six months employed, in a march of little more than four hundred miles, rendered the Leukè Komè of

* Their theory is completely demolished by Lieut. Wellsted. "In selecting Mowîlahh as the site of this town, Dr. Vincent, I think, has been misled by Mr. Irwin's map, in which the islands of Tirán, Barákán, and Senáfer are placed immediately before Mowîlahh, so as to afford a degree of shelter to that station, by which it is made to coincide with the description of the ancient port, as given by Agatharchides. [This is a mistake. Agatharchides does not notice Leukè Komè: he mentions only the three islands of Isis, Sukabua, and Saludo, as forming several ports.] The position which Irwin has assigned to those islands, with respect to the coast-line, is most erroneous. Their true situation, now clearly ascertained, *proves that they could afford little shelter to Mowîlahh; nor has that station*, as will be hereafter pointed out, *any harbour or protection from the tempestuous northerly winds that prevail here*, with intermissions, *throughout the year*." — Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

Mr. Wellsted, in his turn, falls into the mistake of substituting for Moilah, Ainunah, at the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba, as the site of Leukè Komè. Both theories are alike inadmissible, because, on either supposition, the disasters of the Roman fleet (the navigation of the Gulf of Suez, with from nine to fourteen fathoms for its average depth, *and a sandy bottom*, being comparatively safe throughout) must all have occurred at the end of the voyage, or in running across from Ras Mohammed to Moilah, or Ainunah. But this is directly contrary to Strabo's account; which describes the shipwrecks as taking place, in the course of the protracted voyage, along a fearful and harbourless coast, full of projecting reefs, sunken rocks, banks of mud, raging whirlpools, and conflicting tides.

d'Anville altogether incompatible with his theory; which forced him to seek a landing-place as far north, as the circumstances of the case would, by any possibility, allow. The Dean of Westminster follows his lead, without any similar inducement: on the twofold ground, that "Haûr, at more than three hundred and fifty miles from Petra, could not afford a ready communication with that capital;" and that the time specified by Strabo for the voyage of Gallus, could not carry the Roman fleet further than Moilah, "fifteen days being required to extricate the fleet from the sea of Suez, and to reach the road," &c.*

Now if, on due investigation, it shall appear, that the former of these objections has its rise in misapprehension of the text of Strabo, and that the latter is at variance with plain matter of fact, both must fall to the ground: while, on the other hand, if the notes of time and distance shall be found to support the agreement of name, there can remain no rational doubt, that, in the sea-

* A further objection raised by Dr. Vincent is, that Haûra is beyond the limits of Arabia Petræa, the kingdom of the Nabatheans. It scarcely needs an answer. The Nabatheans, like every powerful commercial nation, held possessions beyond their own supposed limits. Thus d'Anville notices their extension far into Arabia Deserta, while Ptolemy traces them to the heart of Nedjd. They would be still more likely to secure safe ports on the Arabian Gulf, below that dangerous coast, from which they were parted by the Thamudites, . . . a different, and probably hostile, tribe.

port town of Haûra, the illustrious d'Anville has restored the Leukè Komè of the ancients.

And first, as to the parenthetic sentence of Strabo, in his relation of the expedition of Gallus, on which the learned opponents of d'Anville lay so much stress, . . . suffice it to remark, that the passage has no reference whatever to facility, or nearness of communication between Leukè Komè and Petra; but is simply a description, and a very clear one, of the course of ancient commerce on the Arabian Gulf, and of the points from which it was successively distributed over other countries. The statement with which Strabo here interrupts his narrative is this:—"The merchandize [of the Gulf] was formerly transported from Leukè Komè to Petra; thence to Rhinocolura, in the part of Phœnicia bordering on Egypt; and thence to other parts. But, now, it is mostly brought down the Nile to Alexandria; for the products of Arabia, with those of India, are carried to Myos Hormus; then, transferred to camels, to Coptos in the Thebaid; and thence to Alexandria, by the canal of the Nile."* This passage has about as much to say to the nearness of Leukè Komè to Petra, as to the nearness of Leukè Komè to Alexandria, that is, nothing at all: its object, as I have already observed, being

* Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1128.

simply and solely to describe the ancient, and the more recent, course and dispersion of the commerce of the Arabian Gulf. It follows that Dean Vincent's argument against the identity of Leukè Komè with Haûra, grounded on the distance of this port from Petra*, is absolutely null and void.

Secondly, with respect to the length of voyage likely to be accomplished by a Roman fleet in fifteen days, the hypothesis advanced by Gossellin and Vincent, which would restrict it within the scanty space between Suez and Moilah, stands refuted by the best of all evidence, the matter-of-fact testimony of the first of modern travellers, to the every-day experience of the Arabs themselves. Although the worst, and most cowardly of sailors, in the clumsiest of vessels, the Arabs, Mr. Burckhardt informs us, usually calculate the passage from Yembo (a port eighty miles south of Haûra) to Suez, at "twenty days." His own

* The selection of ports, both on the Egyptian and Arabian sides of the Gulf, was regulated by considerations, *not of distance*, but *of safety*. Mr. Wellsted's statement of the principle of choice is most just; and it overturns his own notion of the identity of Leukè Komè with Ainunah. "It may be observed, that the same motive *for shortening a long and dangerous voyage*, has, at different periods, operated in causing the transfer of the trade from the port of Arsinoë, near the modern Suez, successively, to Myos Hormus, Berenicé, Adulis, and, lastly, to Aden, without the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb."—(Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 165, 166.)—He speaks, here, only of the ports on the African side, but his statement applies *à fortiori* to those on the Arabian.

voyage, in a native open boat, from Yembo to Ras Mohammed (although putting in nightly from creek to creek, sometimes soon after mid-day, and stopping to take in water every third day) was effected in twenty days, the daily courses varying "from twenty-five to thirty-five miles."* If such be the ascertained rates of these wretched voyages, most assuredly we cannot rationally admit the assumption of a lower rate of progress for a Roman fleet, built for the occasion, well-manned, well-watered, well-provisioned, and impelled by the united force of sails and oars.† On the theory of M. Gossellin and Dean Vincent, however, (the distance between Suez and Moilah being barely two hundred and fifty miles,) its average rate of progress, instead of thirty, could little have exceeded half that space, or fifteen miles a day. It follows, that the argument for the identity of Leukè Komè with Moilah, founded on this basis, is equally null and void with its predecessor.

We have seen, from the incompatibility between the time and distance, that Moilah could not well be the Leukè Komè of Strabo. Let us now take the average of Burckhardt's courses

* Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 344.

† Dean Vincent (note iii.) quotes the case of the Turkish fleet (A. D. 1537); which took ten days for the voyage from Suez to Tor. The case affords no precedent: the wonder is, that it ever reached its destination.

along this very coast, viz. thirty miles per day; and test, by this measurement, the claims of Haûra, already identified with Leukè Komè by correspondence of name. From Suez to Haûra, voyaging, as the Romans did, coastwise, is a distance of about four hundred and seventy miles: let this space be divided by the time specified by Strabo, . . . fifteen days; and an average rate of progress, nearly identical with that of Burckhardt, or of little more than thirty-one miles per day, conducts the fleet of Gallus to the Leukè Komè of d'Anville.*

It must not, at the same time, be concealed, that, in Dean Vincent's version of it, Arrian's report of the position of Leukè Komè still stands

* If more be desired to perfect the identification in the text, more will readily be forthcoming, in the closely corresponding terms in which Strabo and Diodorus Siculus describe the inhospitable coast between Moilah and Haûra: its projecting reefs, its sunken rocks, its hollowed and havenless promontories, its shoals, its whirlpools, its cross tides,— a stern succession of features, peculiar to this fearful coast, and the cause, to Ælius Gallus, of the loss of so many of his ships, yet which, if we must adopt the theory of MM. Gossellin and Vincent, must all be found (where none of them exist) in the narrow sea of Suez, or between Suez and Ras Mohammed; since, from the latter promontory, the voyage to Moilah is no longer coastwise, but *direct across* the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba. No learned ingenuity can reconcile a voyage within these limits with Strabo's description. The following authentic account will show, how totally at variance with this description is the character of the Gulf of Suez. "The former [the Gulf of Akaba] is dangerous, owing to its shoals and coral rocks. The Gulf of Suez extends about 160 miles in length, *and is of safer navigation;* its depth varying from nine to fourteen fathoms, *with a sandy bottom.*" — History of Arabia, by A. Crichton, vol. i. pp. 74, 75.

in the way of our conclusion. As interpreted by this commentator, the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, by his specification of the time of the passage between the two ports, fixes the site of Leukè Komè nearly opposite Myos Hormus; and, by so doing, unquestionably makes it identical with Moilah. Before, however, we admit the supposition of conflicting statements in the ancient authorities (a supposition which must involve the whole question in irretrievable confusion), common prudence suggests the propriety of examining the text of Arrian for ourselves. I have remarked, that, in making common cause with Gossellin, by arbitrarily assuming the identity of Leukè Komè with Moilah, Dr. Vincent was under the influence of no similar inducement: he was not, however, without an inducement of his own, ... the supposed sanction of Arrian; a consideration which assuredly would have ceased to bias his judgment, had this truly modest and candid scholar become aware, that his dissent from d'Anville's site of Leukè Komè was mainly grounded on his own mistake of Arrian's meaning, in the passage on which he builds. Reasoning correctly enough, under the influence of this mistake, he observes, "Nera must be considerably below Leukè Komè, as the passage from that port to Myos Hormus *was*

only three days." As Strabo states Gallus to have been "*eleven days*" on the passage between Nera Komè and Myos Hormus, the difference of distance between the two passages, if Arrian be here rightly rendered, is nearly as *four* to *one:* a result necessarily implying a proportionate interval between Nera and Leukè Komè. But a few words of comment on the text of Arrian may suffice to evince, that, in this place, Dean Vincent has altogether missed his author's meaning. The professed object of the author of the Periplus, at this part of his narrative, is a description of the voyage *down the middle of the Arabian Gulf;* the first part of which lay between Myos Hormus and Berenice, or the two Roman stations on the African side. Into this description, Leukè Komè, on the opposite or Arabian side, is introduced, not with any reference whatever to the distance between it and Myos Hormus, but with reference to its distance, on the left, *from the vessel passing by down the mid-gulf.* The following is Arrian's description of the terrors of the Arabian coast, and the consequent necessity of the mid-gulf voyage:... "This whole navigation of the Arabian coast is most dangerous: the coast itself being destitute of ports, or anchorages; full of foul shoals; unapproachable, because of the reefs and rocks; and, in every way, fearful. *Therefore,*

we navigators hold the mid-gulf course ; and do not make for the Arabian shore, until we reach the latitude of Burnt Island." * The entire voyage, it appears from this passage, lay down the middle of the Gulf: a fact which places in the clearest possible light the incidental notice, by this writer, of Leukè Komè, in his description of the passage between the latitudes of Myos Hormus and Berenice: " On the left, opposite Berenice, coming from Myos Hormus, at the distance of two or three days' sail towards the east, as the voyager [holding a middle course between the African and Arabian coasts] descends the Gulf, there occurs another port, with a citadel, called Leukè Komè." † This description, at every point, answers to Haûra: a port, of whose Arabic name Leukè Komè is the Greek version; which is situated nearly opposite the ancient Berenice ‡; at the distance of about

* Καθόλου μὲν οὖν οὗτος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας ἠπείρου παράπλους ἐστιν ἐπισφαλής· καὶ ἀλίμενος ἡ χώρα, καὶ δύσορμος, καὶ ἀκάθαρτος, βαχίαις καὶ σπίλυις ἀπρόσιτος, καὶ κατὰ πάντα φοβερά. διὸ καὶ εἰσπλεόντων, μέσον πλοῦν κατέχομεν, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν χώραν μᾶλλον παροξύνομεν, ἄχρι τῆς κατακεκαυμένης νήσου. — Arrian, Periplus, p. 12. ap. Hudson, tom. i.

† Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων Βερενίκης ἀπὸ Μυὸς ὅρμου, δυσὶν δρόμοις ἢ τρισὶν εἰς τὴν ἀνατόλην, διαπλεύσαντι τὸν παρακείμενον κόλπον, ὅρμος ἐστὶν ἕτερος, καὶ φρούριον, ὃ λέγεται Λευκὴ κώμη. — Ib. ut suprà, p. 11.

‡ The site of Berenice is now fixed beyond controversy, where d'Anville correctly placed it, nearly opposite El Haûra. Its ruins were discovered and visited by the officers of the Palinurus, within a harbour accurately corresponding with Strabo's description, and Ptolemy's latitude;

eighty miles, or between two and three days' sail, from the middle of the Arabian Gulf; and in a direction due east, from a vessel approaching the parallel of Berenice. . . . And thus, instead of any conflict or confusion between the statements and distances of Strabo and Arrian, Arrian's Leukè Komè, tested by a wholly independent process of proof, turns out to be the same with Haûra, the Leukè Komè of d'Anville.

The time assigned, by Strabo, for the voyage of Gallus from Cleopatris to Leukè Komè, (or fifteen days,) we know, from Burckhardt, would land him at Haûra: the time specified, by Arrian, for reaching Leukè Komè from the middle of the Gulf, in the latitude of Berenice (or from

and retaining the stigma of its ancient name, "Secunundus" (?), in that of "Foul Bay." Mr. Wellsted thus explains the choice of the site. "Referring to the motives assigned, by Robertson, for Ptolemy Philadelphus having fixed upon this spot, in preference to others nearer the Nile, it is natural to suppose that the monarch, *desirous of gaining the object of shortening the passage, in its fullest effect, would have selected a port as far to the southward as possible*, (in order to avoid the strong northerly winds, which prevail nine months in the year,) but which should yet be within the limits of his dominions." — Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

The reasoning applies *à fortiori* to the choice of the site of Leukè Komè, on the opposite side of the gulf: the dangers of the Gulf of Akaba, and of the Arabian coast to the latitude of Haûra, far exceeding those on the Egyptian side; the perils arising from the stern character of the coast itself being fearfully aggravated, by the fury with which the north winds rush down through the straight and narrow funnel of Akaba. — For the navigation of this gulf, see Wellsted, vol. ii. chapters vii, viii.

two to three days), would strike the same port of Haûra* by a cross line. This coincidence, coupled with the identity of name, amounts to nothing short of a geographical demonstration.

NERA KOMÈ. — While the site of Leukè Komè, the landing-place of the Roman army, has divided the opinions of the learned, that of Nera Komè, its place of re-embarkation, seems to have been abandoned in despair; no attempt having been yet made, nor even so much as a conjecture hazarded, towards determining the situation, or the modern representative, of that port. The state of the case, as it has stood hitherto, may best be represented in the words of Dr. Vincent. The following is his statement of the conceived hopelessness of this restoration:... "Nera, as it is the termination of the expedition, I should have been glad to fix; but no representative offers: it must be within the limits of Petrêa†, and it should be placed as far below Leukè Komè as

* That Haûra was, anciently, a sea-port of importance, is clear from Wellsted's account of it, from the report of the Arabs. "On the main, directly opposite [the island of Atawál], at the distance of two miles from the beach, is the Hajj station, El Haûra, or Dar-el-Ashrín, which enjoys *a copious supply of water, gushing from the rocks*, and abundance of herbage. In its vicinity, according to the report of the Arabs, are some remains of *buildings* and *columns*; but our stay on the coast was too limited, to permit our examining the spot." — Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 195.

† This assumption is gratuitous. Commercial nations, in proportion to their power, have never failed to secure ports and stations, beyond their proper bounds.

the province will admit: it may, perhaps, be discovered by some future Niebuhr; or an enlarged knowledge of the language and the country may show, that we are all pilots at sea, without instruments, charts, or compass." *

Now, without adventuring to sea with the learned Dean of Westminster, or awaiting the discoveries on land of "some future Niebuhr," I will undertake to fill up a blank in our ancient geography of Arabia, by the recovery of the long-lost Nera Komè of Strabo. Of this sea-port, we know from Strabo, that it was under the dominion of Obodas, king of the Nabatheans; and we infer, from the reason of the case, that it lay south of Leukè Komè. The nature of the case may further help us, at least by approximation, towards the recovery of the actual site. For the fact of Gallus's embarkation, on his return, from this port, unequivocally implies the previous removal of his fleet, from Leukè, to Nera Komè: the probable objects of this removal (if we may judge by the analogy of similar expeditions) being, partly, to meet the retreating army, and, partly, to await its arrival in a more secure and spacious harbour. But Leukè Komè having been already identified with Haûra, both these antecedent probabilities point, for the site of Nera

* Vincent, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312.

Komè, to the town and port of Iambia or Yembo*; a station, eighty miles nearer the Roman retreat; abounding in the most important facilities of supply; with a haven of capacity sufficient to contain the largest fleet; and where the largest fleet could lie in perfect safety, owing to an island at its mouth, by which it is shielded from all hurtful influence of winds or waves. This combination of circumstances having fixed my attention on Yembo, I proceeded, in the next place, to try, by admeasurement, the relative distances between Leukè Komè and Cleopatris, and Nera Komè and Myos Hormus, as indicated, in his account of the two voyages of Gallus, by Strabo's notes of time. The former voyage, he informs us, occupied fifteen days: the latter, eleven: and (assuming d'Anville to be correct, and Haûra to be the Leukè Komè of the ancients) the result of actual measurement gives precisely the same rate of voyage from Yembo to Myos Hormus, as from Haûra to Suez, or about thirty-one miles per day.

Fully satisfied myself by this result, I was still desirous, if possible, on a question wrapt hitherto

* Djidda, happily, is out of the question altogether; as that port, in his day, afforded no town, in which Gallus could have rested and refreshed his ruined army. "In general it may be said, that Djidda is a *modern* town; for its importance, as a market of Indian goods, can only be traced to *the beginning of the fifteenth century*; although it had been known, in the most ancient times of Arabian history, as the harbour of Mekka." — Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 20. note.

in such deep obscurity, to obtain more full satisfaction for my readers. With d'Anville, accordingly, I had recourse to etymology; and, as this great geographer had recovered Leukè Komè in Haûra, from the common meaning of the two names, "the white town," ... I resolved to try, whether, in the parallel case of Nera Komè and Yembo, similar investigation might not bring to light a similar result. The reader may estimate my satisfaction by his own, when, on turning, for the sense of *Nera*, to the Greek Thesaurus of Stephens, and, for that of *Yembo*, to the Arabic Lexicon of Golius, I discovered that the Nera Komè of Strabo is simply his Greek translation of the Arabic name Yembo. "Græci [observes Salmasius, as cited in one of the preliminary dissertations prefixed to the London edition of Stephens] non solum infimæ ætatis, *sed etiam antiquioris*, νηρὸν et νερὸν, *aquam* vocarunt. Et Νερῶν, *locus est aquis irriguus*." * The identity of this definition with that of the Arabic word Yembo, in the Lexicon of Golius, leaves no room for doubt, that, in the case before us, the Greek is the version of the Arabic name, ... يمبوع [*Yembo*], "*Scaturigo et fons aquæ*." †

* Salmasius in Solin. ap. Steph. Thes. Græc. Ling. tom. i. p. cccxxxiv. note, edit. Londin.

† The native writers, accordingly, in their descriptions of Yembo, dwell particularly on its water.

This clear identification of Nera Komè with Yembo, as the Greek version of an Arabic name, receives, in conclusion, local light, from Mr. Burckhardt's description of that Arab town: a description which discloses at once *the origin* and *the appropriateness* of its name. "About one hour to the east of the town, is *a cluster of wells of sweet water*, called Aseylya, which are made to *irrigate* a few melon-fields.... In the town, are *several wells* of brackish water, but no cisterns. The supply of water for drinking is obtained from some large cisterns, at about five minutes' walk from the Medina gate, where the rain-water is collected. *Small canals have been dug, across the neighbouring plains*, to convey the streams of rain-water to these cisterns. They are spacious, well-cased, subterranean reservoirs; and some of them large enough to supply the whole town for several weeks.... *The water is excellent, much better than that of any other town of the Hedjaz;* where the inhabitants are not industrious enough to form similar cisterns. When the winter-rains fail, the inhabitants of Yembo suffer severely; and are obliged to fill their water-skins at the distant *wells* of Aseylya." *

قال ابن سعيد والينبع بها عيون ..... قال ابن حوقل وينبع حصن به نخيل وما وزرع ۞

— Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 45.

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 335.

Thus remarkable, to this day, for the very properties so plainly expressed in its two-fold name, . . . the number of its wells and reservoirs, the irrigation of its suburban fields and plains, and the unrivalled celebrity of its water throughout the Hedjaz, . . . it is surely impossible to question, that the *Nera* Komè of Strabo (*locus aquis irriguus*), and the *Yembo* of Golius and Burckhardt (*Scaturigo et fons aquæ*), are one and the same place. Yembo, it follows, was the port, whence Ælius Gallus embarked for Myos Hormus, on his return to Egypt. The recovery of Nera Komè, in Yembo, it is scarcely needful to add, authenticates, anew, M. d'Anville's previous restoration of Leukè Komè, in Haûra, by demonstrating, *à fortiori*, the untenableness of the only objection urged by Gossellin and Vincent, namely, that Haûra lies too far south.

MARSYABA. — The sites of Leukè and Nera Komè once ascertained, the point next in importance is to fix the site of Marsyaba, the term of the Roman invasion. With ample room and materials for critical investigation, the position of this capital has hitherto been made the subject only of vague conjecture. A preliminary view of the marks requisite to determine its site, will effectually preserve us from falling into this error. For, 1. Marsyaba must be in the direc-

tion of the incense region. 2. It must be situated in the neighbourhood of Ilasar. 3. It must lie in the territory of the Rhamanites (or Cushite Sabeans). 4. It must lie, apparently, to the south of the province of Chaulan. 5. It must be nine days' forced march beyond Anagrana or Nedjran. 6. It must be within a few marches of a river, which the Romans crossed on their advance, and re-crossed on their retreat. 7. It must be within sixty days' forced march of Nera Komè, or Yembo.... Now, if a town of southern Arabia can be found, still retaining, in substance, the classical name, and in which all the foregoing cirumstances shall unite, it will hardly be thought too much to assume, that this town can be no other than the long-sought Marsyaba of Strabo. But all the required circumstances, together with the substance of the classical name, will be found united in the town of *Sabbia*, the chief city of the province of *Sabiè*, a district on the northern confines of Yemen. For, 1. Sabbia lies within an easy distance of the country of the Gebanitæ, or Beni Kahtan of the eastern plain, and of Thumna or Tamna their capital; the great inland emporium, according to Pliny, of the incense trade.* 2. It

* "Evehi non potest [thus], nisi per Gebanitas: itaque et horum regi penditur vectigal. Caput eorum Thomna abest à Gaza... mansiones camelorum lxv." — Lib. xii. cap. 32.

lies immediately under the mountains of *El Asyr*, the seat of Ptolemy's Elisari, and the Ilasar of Strabo; the country of the Asyr Arabs of Yemen. 3. It is seated, as the name imports, in the territory of the Beni Sabya, or *Rhamanite* Sabeans. 4. It lies due south of Chaulan (a province on the line of the Roman retreat). 5. It is within about a hundred and forty miles of Nedjran, or precisely the space, specified by Strabo, of nine days' march, at the average rate of a Roman army, or "fifteen miles a day." 6. It is equi-distant, or within nine or ten marches of the Sancan river, the *only* river laid down in the maps, throughout this whole region; and which, consequently, *must* be the river which the Romans crossed, on their advance into the country, and necessarily (as will be seen by its course) re-crossed, on their retreat through Chaulan.* 7. By the coast-road, (the route taken by Gallus on his return,) it is within eight hundred miles, or sixty days' march, of Nera Komè, or Yembo, at the average rate, halts included, of a little more than thirteen miles a day.

* The course of the Sancan, rising in the mountains N. W. of Chaulan, near Carn-al-Magshal, and running one hundred miles, or upwards, in a south-westerly direction, (when it is lost in the sands,) obviously bars the exit from Chaulan to the coast

That all these coincidences should be required to verify the site of Marsyaba, according to Strabo's description of it, and that they all should be found to unite in the town of Sabbia*, is a concurrence of local circumstances to be accounted for rationally only in one way, . . . namely, that the Sabbia of d'Anville *is* the Marsyaba of Strabo.

LINES OF ROMAN ROUTE. — By the adjustment of the three great land-marks of the expedition, we obtain fixed points for our guidance in the next object of inquiry; the recovery of the wholly distinct lines of route pursued by Gallus, on his advance and on his retreat. The oscitancy with which our first scientific geographers have speculated on these two routes, marked by a total oblivion of the harmony so essential to be preserved, between Strabo's notes of distance, as defined by his notes of time, . . . there is no way of accounting for, and but one way of describing: it is that of men in a dream. According to Strabo, the advance of Gallus occupied *six* months: his retreat, but *two*. This difference of time (a proportion of *three* to *one*)

* It may be noticed, as an independent coincidence, that the retreat of nine days to Nedjran, on Dr. Vincent's calculation, "requires that Gallus should have advanced upwards of an hundred miles into Yemen;" and that this computation brings us accurately to *Sabbia*, distant from Beishe, the frontier and key of Yemen, precisely one hundred miles.

is altogether inexplicable on any ground, but that of a commensurate difference of distance. Making every allowance for halts, and the delays caused by the stratagems of Syllæus, and the siege and capture of a few Arab towns, the line of advance must have been more than double that of the retreat. For, while Gallus might be, and was, deceived, a Roman general could not be altogether befooled by his Arab conductor. Total ignorance of the country might betray him, as it had betrayed Crassus*, into taking a totally wrong road (an error which his subsequent better knowledge of the country enabled him eventually to correct); but no amount of ignorance could induce him to be led, like the characters in a modern drama, round and round a horse-pond; as must have been pretty much the case, could we believe him to have employed, alternately, six months, and two months, in his passage through the same line of country. Yet this is the ground taken by our highest modern authorities. D'Anville, Gossellin, Vincent, however differing as to the

* "Lorsque Crassus entreprit son expédition contre les Parthes, Abgare Mannus s'offrit *à lui servir de guide; le conduisit à travers des déserts pour épuiser son armée;* et le fit enfin tomber entre les mains des Parthes." (Biograph. Univers. tom. i. p. 75. art. Abgare.) The stratagem was familiar to the Orientals; and serves as a sure index to the route pursued by Syllæus.

length of the march, all agree in conducting and re-conducting the Roman army through the Hedjaz; the only allowed difference between the advance and retreat being this, that the former was through the interior of the province, the latter along the coast. By taking the former route, the distance would more easily be increased; but it could not, by any devices of treason itself, be doubled.

On the face of the case, therefore, it appears, that, rationally to solve the phenomena, a difference of distance, in the two lines of march, commensurate, in some reasonable degree, with the recorded difference of time, must be found. Now the only route which presents such a difference, is that circuitous caravan line, which would carry Gallus, from Haûra, by Medinah and Kasym, into the heart of Nedjd *; and, thence, to Nedjran, by one of the great Nedjd roads into Yemen. In the discussion of the question hitherto, this inland route has never once been thought of: yet, that it was the road

* "Syllæus conduisit la flotte Romaine d'écueils en écueils, et fit périr une grande partie. Il engagea ensuite, *dans les déserts brûlants du Nedjed*, les légions Romaines, qui, après six mois de marche," &c. (Walckenaer, ap. Biograph. Universelle, tom. xvi. p. 382. art. Gallus.) This is the *sole* coincidence with my view of the Roman route, which has fallen under my observation. M. Walckenaer, with great good sense, gives the true line of the advance; but, as he goes against all preceding authorities, he should have stated his grounds for doing so.

actually taken by the Roman army, I am prepared to show, 1. from Strabo's general account of the policy of Syllæus, and of the motives and objects which prompted his treason; 2. from his specific description of the line of march, and of the country traversed; and 3. from Pliny's independent enumeration of the towns captured and destroyed by Ælius Gallus.

1. Strabo sets out by stating the very point just assumed, namely, that Syllæus led the Romans, from Leukè Komè, *by a circuitous route* (κυκλοπορείαις), through difficult roads (ἀνοδίαις), and a desert region (καὶ πάντων ἀπόροις χωρίοις). He goes on to suggest the policy which dictated this treachery; the object of the wily Nabathean being, in his judgment, "to spy out the land; to capture its cities and districts by the aid of the Romans; and to remain himself master of the country, when the Roman army should have been consumed by famine, toil, disease, and his arts." This statement of the objects of the guide, is itself an index to the extent and direction of the march*; which aimed to penetrate

* The precise direction of the Roman march from Medinah is determined by the country; since there is one pass only, and this a most remarkable one, between Hedjaz and Nedjd. It is thus noticed by Captain Sadlier:—"The unlucky accident, which occurred near Medina, precluded the possibility of my making any just observations, *on the mazy windings of our route*, through *the extraordinaary valley*, which affords a

into a part of Arabia hitherto impervious to the Nabatheans themselves, and therefore *beyond* the territory of Aretas, the kinsman and ally of Obodas; yet to reach the territory of Aretas had required a march of "many days." * The whole details seem incompatible with the idea of a progress through a country so near, and so well known to the Nabatheans, as that between Haûra and Mekka; while they are, at least, in perfect harmony with the idea of a movement into the inland province of Nedjd.

2. But, in the next place, Strabo's detailed account of the time consumed in the march, and his description of the features of the country between Leukè Komè and the kingdom of Aretas, tally most exactly with Burckhardt's delineation of the inland route, by Medinah, to Kasym. According to Strabo, the march from Leukè Komè to the country of Aretas was one of "many days:" according to Burckhardt, it would require, at least, twenty days, to reach the confines of

communication, or passage, through the range of mountains, which separates Ul Hejaiz from Nedjed. This valley is very confined; and our caravan was much too numerous to proceed in one body. I do not imagine that we exceeded two miles an hour, during this part of the night." — MS. Journal, p. 10.

* The fact that Aretas, as a kinsman of Obodas, was himself a Nabathean, coupled with the distance of his kingdom from that of Obodas, fully bears out the statement of Ptolemy; who carries the Nabatheans eastward, as far as the western foot of Mount Zames.

Kasym from Haûra. The former describes the road taken by Gallus as, in parts, so destitute of water, that the Romans were reduced to depend, for their supply, wholly on their camels and water-skins: the latter specifies two stages, on the Kasym road, one of two days and a half, from Hafna to Soweyder, another of two days, from Máwát to el Badje, "wholly without water." Both describe the road, as difficult throughout; the specifications of Burckhardt serving to illustrate the more general report of Strabo: for example, "Soweyder, nineteen hours. The road from Hafna to this place is rocky, with two ascents *difficult for camels*, and wholly without water:" again, "Neffoud... a plain of deep sand, four hours long; after which, *the road becomes less sandy and difficult.*" * After a march of much difficulty and privation, the Romans, at length, entered the friendly country of Aretas: the comparative fertility of which, discernible in its products of corn or dhourra, dates, and butter, well corresponds with Burckhardt's account of Kasym, "the most fertile district in the province of Nedjed;" like Nedjd generally, "celebrated for its excellent pastures;" and particularly productive in corn. The relationship of Aretas to Obodas, and his consequently

* Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 393—398.

hospitable reception of the Romans, plainly bespeak his Ishmaelite, or Edomite, origin: an origin agreeing with the known population of Nedjd, which, now as formerly, abounds in settlements of Ishmaelite and Edomite tribes; the Beni Temin, the Beni Shaman, and the Aenezes.

The arts of Syllæus (probably the usual Arab stratagems, . . . delays in the supplies of camels and provisions), aided by the natural difficulties of the road, detained the army thirty days, in its passage through the kingdom of Aretas. It now entered the Bedouin country of Ararena (Agarena), a region described as, for the most part, desert; and through which, a march of fifty days brought the Romans to Anagrana, or "the city of the Agrani" (Nedjran); a town seated in a peaceful and fertile district. . . . The following extracts from Burckhardt will show how accurately Strabo's description, here, corresponds with the features of the road from Kasym, by the desert of Woshem and Derayeh, to the eastern Nedjd chain; and, thence, to Nedjran, along the mountains, "by a straight road from Nedjed . . . to the country of Beishe and Yemen." . . . "From Derayeh to Mekka is a distance of eleven or twelve long caravan days' journies. For three days beyond Derayeh are found cultivated spots, and small settlements of

Arabs; *the rest of the road is through a desert country*. . . . A straight road from Nedjed to the mountains of Hedjaz (I use this word, here, in the Bedouin sense, meaning the mountains south of Tayf), *and to the country of Beishe and Yemen*, passes by the village of Derye, on the southern extremity of Nedjed, *on the great road from Kasym to Mekka*. The road from Derye to Beishe lies four or five days east of Mekka." *

"A circuitous route, completely explanatory of the κυκλοπορείαι of Strabo, corresponding, at every point, with his description of the entire line of road taken by Gallus on his advance, and affording a fair approximation to the difference of distance required, between an advance of six months and a retreat of two (about fifteen hundred miles instead of seven hundred, or, allowing for road measurement, seventeen hundred instead of eight hundred), has now been traced, along well-ascertained lines of caravan road; the part between Medinah and Derayeh being that actually travelled by Captain Sadlier a few years ago." *

Before, however, we may pronounce this inland route identical with that pursued by Ælius Gallus, more remains to be done. For, in the condensed relation of Strabo, some part of the period consumed in the advance remains, apparently, unaccounted for. Specific land-marks,

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 400.

also, of the Roman march are plainly necessary, to convert general resemblance, and strong verisimilitude, into actual identification. Now the time unaccounted for, and the land-marks required, are happily supplied by the independent authority of Pliny; who names several towns, unnoticed by Strabo, as having been successively besieged and destroyed by Gallus; all, from the nature of the case, necessarily on his advance into the country.* If the towns named by Pliny shall be found actually in existence, along the inland line of route above laid down, the identification will be complete: and that they are so found, I will now proceed to show.

3. Pliny's account is as follows: "Gallus destroyed the under-named towns, not mentioned by preceding writers: Negra, Amnestus, Nesea, Magusa, Tammacus, Labecia, and the above-named Mariaba, a city six miles in circumference; also, Caripeta, the furthest point of his progress." † On this important passage, Dean Vincent's comment is, "as Pliny says that the places which

* The precipitancy of his retreat (which in fact was a disgraceful and disastrous flight) left neither time, nor means, for sieges: like that of our unfortunate army in Affghanistan, it was a race for life. — Compare Vincent, vol. ii. pp. 304—311.

† "Gallus oppida diruit, non nominata ab auctoribus qui ante scripserunt, Negram, Amnestum, Nescam, Magusam, Tammacum, Labeciam, et suprà dictam Mariabam. Item Caripeta quo longissimè processit."— Nat. Hist., lib. vi. cap. 32.

occurred in the expedition of Gallus are not found in authors previous to his time, the same may be said of subsequent writers; for there is not one of them, ancient or modern, who will do more than afford matter for conjecture. This is the reason that compels me to give a sketch, only, of an expedition, so intimately connected with the commerce of the ancients in Arabia." * That the opinion here expressed has been formed without due examination, will readily be admitted, if it can now be shown, that, of the eight cities named by Pliny, in the above passage, the names of two most clearly prove them the same with two of those mentioned by Strabo; and that seven out of the eight stand, with moral certainty, and the eighth with good probability, identified with as many Arab towns, still actually in being, along the very inland route above laid down, as that followed by Ælius Gallus. We begin, for good reasons, with Mariaba.

Strangely overlooking the discriminative circumstances, so clearly marked in the text of Pliny, and guided, apparently, only by identity of name, d'Anville has confounded the Mariaba of the Roman geographer, with Mâreb, the famous capital of the Sabeans of Yemen. As, however, Mâreb is known to have been a denomination common to several chief towns of Arabia, its signification, in

* Vol. ii. pp. 300, 301.

fact, being equivalent to *metropolis*, the mere identity of name is plainly nothing, unless borne out by other circumstances. Now Pliny distinguishes the Mariaba destroyed by Gallus, by two discriminative marks: 1. It was the capital of his Calingii; and 2. it lay in the direction of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, . . . for it is mentioned in conjunction with Muranimal, a town in the vicinity of Gerrha, being seated, according to Pliny, on a river believed to be the re-appearance of the Pison branch of the Euphrates. Let these marks be now only compared with the geographical features of this quarter of Arabia, at the present day. In the province of *Hagar* or Bahrein (a local denomination answering literally to the *Ararena* or *Agarena* of Strabo), and at the eastern foot of the great Nedjd chain, we recover the *Calingii* of Pliny in the Beni *Khâled*, still, as in his time, the reigning tribe in these parts*; and his *Muranimal* and *Mariaba*, in

* "Calingii, quorum Mariaba oppidum significat *Dominos omnium*." (vi. 32.) Pliny's etymology of the name has been questioned by his editor: without reason, however, for it is sufficiently correct; if Mâreb be derived from رب, *Dominus* fuit præfuitque. *Dominium* ac *principatum* exercuit. *Rexit.* (See Gol. in voc.) The appropriateness of the title, as applied to the Beni Khâled of Lachsa or Bahrein, will appear from Niebuhr's notice of this great tribe. "*Tout le district appartient à la tribu Beni Khâled;* une des plus puissantes entre les Arabes; laquelle s'étend si avant dans le désert, qu'elle inquiète souvent les caravanes entre Bagdad et Hâleb." (Déscript. de l'Arab. tom. iii. p. 294.) As Mâreb

their two chief towns, *Al Borani* and *Mâreb*, both seated on that very branch or channel of the Euphrates, spoken of by Pliny in this connection, and visited and described, in modern times, by the Portuguese traveller Texeira.

Let this restoration, thus authenticated by the union of all the discriminative circumstances which mark out Pliny's Mariaba of the Calingii*, be now considered with reference to Strabo's exposure of the deep-laid scheme of Syllæus, the Nabathean minister; and, however profligate the perfidy of this statesman, his policy will be found worthy of a better cause. The very conception of rendering himself master, by aid of the unsuspecting Romans, of the keys of the country, its strong cities, implies a depth of policy, which would be sure to aim at laying hold of *the most important points of communication*. But, in Arabia, in every age, the aim of each ascendant power invariably has been, to obtain the command, at once, of the trade with India, and of the inland commerce between the gulfs. Now Mâreb, in the eastern province of Hagar or Bahrein, lies at, or near, the junction of the two

is the capital of the Beni Khâled, there cannot be a reasonable doubt, that Pliny and Niebuhr describe the same people.

* Dean Vincent had given up both the Rhamanitæ, and the Calingii, as irrecoverable: "What the Rhamanitæ of Strabo, or Calingii of Pliny, may be, seems impossible to determine."— ii. 310.

grand routes between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; that, namely, to Petra, by Kasym and Medinah, in the northern direction *, and that to Mekka and Yemen †, by the great Nedjd road, towards the south. By laying hold, therefore, of

* The part of this route, hitherto least known, has been brought to light by Captain Sadlier. His road, from Katiff towards Medinah, passed through Ul Ahsa, Remah [the *Marata* of Ptolemy], Sumamah, Bubban [*Biabanna*], Munfooah, Deriah, Oineeah (*Aina* or *Ayoun*], Shakra, Mooznib, Anizeh, Rus [Rass], Honeekah [Hanekeh], on the boundary line between Nedjd and Hedjaz.

The position of *Shakra*, misplaced in all our maps, is among the geographical results of this journey. Captain Sadlier was "a good deal surprized, when all agreed, that we should pass through Shakra *before* we would reach Anizeh; the position of these two places with regard to Deriah appears to me to be reversed on the printed maps." (MS. Journal.) But the most valuable information, in this part of the Journal, respects the site and commercial importance of Anizeh. "August 24th, marched [from Mooznib] at 4h. 30m. this morning, our route N.W. Arrived at Anizeh at 12h. 30m. P.M. It is considered as the principal town of this district; and, from its geographical situation, it has been generally the centre of trade. The caravans from Bussorah, Koit, Kutief, Ul Ahsa, and Deriah, passing through Anizeh annually, have given this place a certain degree of consequence. It is conveniently situated with respect to Medina and the Red Sea, as also with regard to Jubul Chumher [Djebel Shammar]. *It has always been the medium of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea;* and might become a post of the first importance, from its central position. A garrison, placed at Anizeh, would overawe the tribe of Anizeh, which occupies the desert N.E., to the limits occupied by the tribe of Mootair [Meteyr], who extend to the E. of Shakra in the direction of Koit, from thence towards the Persian Gulph." (MS. Journal, p. 292.) "To the W. of Anizeh, the tribes of Hurrab and Misroo occupy that part of the district of Al Hejaz between Rus and Medina. Thus, the town of Anizeh appears to be the centre of Arabia, in a geographical, political, and commercial view." — Ib. p. 294.

† The Yemen road branches off at *Derye*, four or five days east of Mekka. — See Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 400.

this capital of the Calingii or Beni Khâled (a Cushite race, the national enemies as well as commercial rivals of the Nabatheans), Syllæus broke in, at the same time, on the commercial monopoly of the Gerrhæans, and opened to Nabathean enterprize, through a direct channel, the lucrative trade with India by the Persian Gulf. The moral thus unites with the circumstantial evidence to identify Mariaba, the capital of the Calingii, in the kingdom of Agarena, with Mâreb, still the chief town of the Beni Khâled Arabs, in the province of Hagar or Bahrein. The siege of a city of such magnitude and importance amply accounts for some portion of the time, consumed in the Roman advance, and unaccounted for by Strabo; whose narrative is mainly directed, and nearly confined, to the operations in the neighbourhood of the country of incense, the grand object of the expedition.

But the position of Pliny's Mariaba of the Calingii will be further elucidated, as we accompany Gallus, from Mâreb, along the great Nedjd mountain-road, into Yemen. Caripeta is another of the towns mentioned by Pliny, as besieged and taken in his progress. This name has needlessly perplexed the critics. *Caripeta* is an easy and obvious misnomer, probably of transcribers, for *Cariata*, an inland town pre-

viously mentioned by Pliny, and the seat, apparently, of his *Carrei;* and Cariata exists at this day, on the very route in question, the Nedjd road to Yemen, in the town of *Kariatain.*

Advancing from Kariatain, still in a south-western direction, on the Nedjd road to Yemen, we easily recognize the Tammacus of Pliny, also in his list of the towns destroyed by Gallus, in the Agdami of Ptolemy; being the one name, only abridged, and with the article prefixed; while, by their common position on the mountains of Hedjaz, and in the twenty-second parallel of latitude, the Agdami of Ptolemy becomes clearly identified with the well-known town of Tayf.

From Tayf, the Yemen road takes a direction nearly due south, along the mountains, until it turns eastward with the bend of the chain, as it tends towards Nedjran. A little to the north of the angle formed by this bend, the *Magusa* of Pliny (Ptolemy's Magulaba), another of the captured towns, presents itself in Korn el *Maghsal*, a place situated about half-way between Tayf and Nedjran.

The familiar name of *Nedjran*, a city rightly identified by Dean Vincent, after d'Anville, with the Anagrana of Strabo, or his "city of the Agrani" (or Hagarenes), is expressed so to the

letter by the *Negra* of Pliny, that, at this point at least, there cannot be a question, the two ancient geographers place Gallus on the same ground. It is further observable, that Pliny's report of the sack of Negra, or Nedjran, is circumstantially authenticated by Strabo's account of the storm.

From Nedjran, the great Nedjd road enters Yemen, through the fertile valley, and strong position, of Beishe. As Beishe, at all periods, has been, what the Arabs expressively entitle it, "the key of Yemen," we have now reached a point, where Burckhardt becomes our best guide, in tracking the further march, southward, of the Roman army. The following is his description of this important pass, still, as anciently, the station of invading armies: a description which enables us to illustrate the operations of Ælius Gallus, from the recent operations of very different invaders from Egypt, the Turks. "Beishe, the most important position between Tayf and Sanaa, is a very fertile district, extremely rich in date trees. The Turkish army of Mohammed Aly, with its followers and allied Bedouins, amounting in all to ten or twelve thousand men [a curious numerical coincidence with that of the Romans], found here sufficient provisions for a fortnight's halt, and *for a supply on their*

march for several days towards the south. The Arabs entitle Beishe *the key of Yemen:* it lies *on one of the great roads from Nedjed to Yemen;* and it was said, that heavy-laden camels from Mekka to Yemen *could not come by any other way;* and that on the sea-shore beyond Beishe, *is an easy passage westward through the great chain of mountains.* . . . Beishe itself is about two days distant from the western mountain." . . . "The army remained about a fortnight at Beishe, the most important position in the country eastward of the Yemen mountains, and called, by the northern Bedouins, the key of Yemen." *

The argument deducible from these extracts does not turn on probabilities: it rests on grounds of moral certainty. That Gallus took the route taken by every succeeding conqueror from the north, is certified to us by the single fact, stated by Burckhardt, that Beishe is said to be "*the only pass*," by which an invading army, with its necessary incumbrance of heavy baggage, could penetrate into Yemen. The conclusion thus forced on us by the physical features of the country, is to be arrived at, independently, by the decisive testimony of Pliny; in whose catalogue of the towns sacked by Gallus, we find the

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 383., and Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 403.

name *Labecia*,... the anagram, with the slightest possible inversion, of *Al Beishe*. This identity of name, coupled with the physical peculiarity of the site, makes this restoration one of the most perfect, connected with the expedition of Ælius Gallus.

On the advance from Nedjran and Beishe, the direction of the Roman march is next ascertained, by the most unusual of interruptions in Arabian warfare, that of a river. Now the only river known to exist in these parts is the Sancan; which, taking its rise in the Hedjaz mountains, near Korn el Maghsal, after a southern course of somewhat more than a hundred miles, is lost in the sands of the Tehamah, to the westward of the mountains of Asyr. The Sancan river, it follows, must have been the river crossed by Gallus on his advance, and necessarily recrossed (as its course on the maps will show) on his retreat towards the coast through Chaulan. If this route to Marsyaba implies a considerable detour, it is only the more consistent with the *circuitous* policy of Syllæus; whom Strabo expressly states to have misled the Romans to the last.* The line of march thus generally indicated, by its direction on the only river in the

* Ἐξ δὲ μηνῶν χρόνον ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κατέστρεψε, φαύλως ἀγόμενος· ἔγνω δ' ἀναστρέφων ὀψὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ καταμαθὼν. κ. λ.—Lib. xvi. pp. 1128, 1129.

country, is more specifically defined by a fresh local verification. The arrival of the Romans on the Sancan was signalized by a battle (the Arabs having assembled in great force to dispute their passage); and their victory was followed by a siege. The name of the town now taken has fortunately been preserved, both by Strabo and Pliny: the *Asca* of the former being manifestly the *Nesca* of the latter writer; names (allowing for a slight inversion) obviously identical with *Sancan*, the present name of a town seated on the Sancan river, near its termination in the sands.

This movement of the Roman army, from Nedjran on Marsyaba by the Sancan, inferred from the fact of its being the only river in this quarter, and illustrated by the agreement between the ancient and modern names of the localities, will receive further confirmation, if it can be shown, that the time employed by Gallus, in his advance from Nedjran, much exceeded that required to effect his retreat to that place. That this was so, we gather from Strabo; who states, as the result of the Roman commander's discovery of the treachery of his guide, a change of route, which enabled him, on his return, to reach Nedjran in nine days; a statement admitting of but the one interpretation, . . . that the advance had occupied a much longer period.

To this point, the course of verification has been uninterrupted by any dissonance, between the notes of time and distance. In the adjustment of this part of the route, however, apparent difficulties present themselves, which I hope to evince are no more than *apparent*. The first of these difficulties respects the distance of Nedjran from the Sancan river (a space, in our maps, of at least a hundred and fifty miles), compared with the time employed in the march: the reputed distance requiring ten days, where Strabo allows only six. Now, without assuming (what is yet within probability) error in Strabo's information, or in his text, this difficulty will fairly admit of either of two explanations:... 1. that the march bears date, not from the town, but from the western boundary line of the territory of Nedjran; which is included in Strabo's notice, together with the city, as in the occupation of the Romans*: 2. that the Sancan river may be *out of position* in our maps; a circumstance of ceaseless recurrence, in the inland geography of this almost unknown country.† Either sup-

* Μέχρι πόλεως Ἀγρανῶν, καὶ χώρας εἰρηνικῆς τε, καὶ ἀγαθῆς. — xvi. 1128.

† See Conder's "Modern Traveller," vol. iv. The extraordinary merit of this work is attested by the best of all authorities, the practical experience of travellers. Its value as a manual seems generally felt and acknowledged. — See Mr. Wellsted's testimony to the volume on Arabia.

position will reconcile the seeming discrepancy; which, it will be remembered, is as nothing, when weighed in the balance against the certain facts, that the march of Gallus was *twice* directed on a river, and that the only known river in the country is the Sancan.

Another difficulty regards the site of Strabo's Athrulla, the place next taken and garrisoned by Gallus, on quitting Asca and the Sancan. Strabo's whole description here, the military occupation, the prolonged halt, the stores of corn and dates accumulated for the use of the army, on its march to invest Marsyaba, all indicate the importance of the position; and all point towards Labecia or Beishe, "the key of Yemen," as described by Burckhardt, and as similarly occupied, in our own days, by the army of Mohammed Aly. The nomenclature, however, here gives us no aid: for the names are altogether different; and a movement on Beishe, from the Sancan, further implies a counter-march. Yet if, on broader grounds, the identity of Athrulla with Beishe be, as it is conceived to be, admissible, the entire operations, it is believed, will allow of the most satisfactory explanation: the primary object of the Roman general being to dislodge and disperse the covering army, which had as-

sumed a strong position threatening his right flank; and which, if left behind him unbroken, would be sure to cut off his communications, and wheel round upon his rear. The strength of Marsyaba, and the dearth of water (the Arabs well knew) would do the rest; and effect, perhaps without a blow, his complete destruction.

On these grounds, my belief is, that Gallus, having advanced to the Sancan by the road which turns westward from the pass, countermarched on Beishe, which was now first taken. Having secured this key of Yemen, and paused a sufficient time to refresh and provision his wearied legions, then, and not before, he made his final movement on Marsyaba, and the reputed region of incense.*

In the line of route here identified with the advance of the Roman army under Ælius Gallus, the notes of distance harmonize, in the main, with those of time; Strabo's descriptions of the country traversed, agree, throughout, with those of Burckhardt; while out of the eight towns named by Pliny as destroyed by the invaders, seven are found along this very line of road,

* It appears to have been mistaken, by the Romans, (probably from its near neighbourhood to Thumna, the central depôt of the incense-trade, in the territory of the Gebanitæ, or Beni Kahtan of the eastern plain,) for the incense-country, known to lie far to the south, in Hadramáut.

retaining in substance their classical names; Mariaba, Caripeta, Tammacus, Magusa, Negra, Nesca, Labecia, being represented, as closely as the difference of idiom will allow, by Mâreb, Kariatain, Tayf, Maghsal, Nedjran, Sancan, and al-Beishe: while, if Amnestus may be supposed to have its representative in Ibn Maan (the Manambis of Ptolemy), a town about half way between Beishe and Sabbia, *all* the cities enumerated by Pliny occur on the route in question, or the great Nedjd road between Kasym and Yemen.

In all these respects, on the other hand, it has been already seen, the routes severally assumed by d'Anville and Gibbon, by Gossellin and Vincent (who differ only as to the length of the march, but agree in conducting the Roman advance through the Hedjaz) altogether fail.

Upon these opposite results, we might securely rest the merits of the question; were it not decided afresh by wholly independent proof, that, neither on his advance, nor in his retreat, *could* Gallus have passed through the heart of the province of Hedjaz. This separate proof is supplied by Pliny, in the words of Gallus himself; the passage being, to all appearance, an extract from the report of that general, to his

master Augustus. The statement of Pliny is most curious; and (in the present connection at least) has been most singularly overlooked. After enumerating, by name, the cities captured, Pliny divides the information furnished by Ælius Gallus under two heads: 1. What fell under his own personal observation; and 2. What he collected from trust-worthy authorities. Under the second of these heads, or that of information obtained, not by observation, but inquiry, he quotes as follows: "The Homerites are a very numerous people: the Minæi possess a territory fruitful in palm-trees and vineyards; but their chief wealth consists in their cattle: the Cerbani and Agræi excel in war; still more, the Chatramotitæ: the Sabæi are rich in the fragrant fertility of their fields, and the products of wax and honey."* The several nations described in this part of his dispatch, it appears, were known to Gallus by authentic report only. The Homerites, the Sabeans of Yemen, the people of Hadramáut, it is clear he had not seen: neither, it follows, had he seen the Minæans, the Cerbani,

* "Cetera explorata retulit: . . . numerosissimos esse Homeritas: Minæis fertiles agros, palmetis arbustisque; in pecore divitias: Cerbanos et Agræos armis præstare; maxime Chatramotitas: Carreis, latissimos et fertilissimos agros: Sabæos, ditissimos sylvarum fertilitate odorifera, auri metallis, agrorum riguis, mellis ceræque proventu."

or the Agræans. But of the first of these last-mentioned tribes, the capital, Carman Regia, or Karn-al-Manzil, lay in the neighbourhood of Mekka; and the second, the Cerbani or Carbæ, are no other than "the mighty tribe of Harb," which, now as of old, chiefly peoples the Hedjaz. Had Gallus fallen in with this warlike race, his own report certifies that they would have given him a very different reception, from that experienced from the unwarlike natives of Yemen. Had his line of march led (as has been asserted) through the country between Medinah and Mekka, he must have fought his way through those mountain passes of the Harbs, which, in our time, baffled, alternately, the utmost efforts of the victorious Wahabys, and of their Turkish conquerors. No trace, however, of such formidable antagonists, is to be met with in the relations of Strabo or Pliny; and the plain reason is that assigned by Gallus himself, . . . he had heard of these warlike Arabs, but had never encountered them. The consequent conclusion, that he did not pass through the interior of the Hedjaz, is equivalent to the inference already drawn in these pages upon other grounds, that he was conducted, owing to the treachery of Syllæus, by a circuitous route through Nedjd.

Upon the general course of the Roman retreat,

all the authorities are agreed: it is marked out by a total change of route; and from Nedjran, on which the army had fallen back, was directed to the Tehamah, and the coast. All, therefore, that remains to be ascertained more definitely is, the particular line of road. For this restoration, unattempted by d'Anville or Vincent, and for which the recovery of Nera Komè, by its identification with Yembo, has smoothed our way, I proceed, in conclusion, to show, that we *now* possess sufficient materials: the researches of Burckhardt, here again, coming undesignedly in, to throw light on the brief, and, in more than one point, apparently confused narrative of Strabo.

The failure before Marsyaba*, and the imminent danger of the army, had, at length, opened the eyes of Gallus to the treachery of his guide. Strabo's report of what followed, is well explained by Dr. Vincent. "From this time, the preservation of his army was the more immediate object of the commander: ... he had spent

* The obstinate defence of Marsyaba admits of easy explanation, when we remember that its probable defenders, the Elisari, were the ancestors of the warlike *Asyr* tribe: a tribe whose warriors, when they failed to conquer, died to a man at Byssel; and which, rising from its reverses, after totally routing the Turkish army in a pass of the Asyr mountains, retook Mokha by storm, "killing the greater number of the Turks, or driving them into the sea." — Wellsted, vol. ii. p. 288.

six months in reaching Marsyaba; he was now convinced of the perfidy of Syllæus; he imputed the whole failure to the direction of the march by the advice of that minister; and, if the same delay should occur on the retreat, he saw that the destruction of the army was inevitable. To prevent this, it is evident that the route was changed; and we are led to infer that it was directed, from the interior, to the coast. In this case, the army must have crossed the mountains, and descended into the Tehama; and yet, in a march of sixty days, we have nothing to guide our inquiries, but the mention of four places, without dates, and with one distance only specified: these are, *the Seven Wells*, (eleven days from Anagrana,) Chaalla, Malotha, and Nera."*

In this otherwise correct paraphrase, the two most important particulars, it happens, are omitted: namely, 1. the fact, that one of the land-marks specified, the town of Malotha, was seated *on a river;* and 2. that, after crossing this river, the road taken by the Romans lay along a route *nearly destitute of water.*† With the introduction only of these two pretermitted

* Vincent, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

† Εἶτα δι' ἐρήμης, ὀλίγα ὑδρεῖα ἐχούσης, ὁδὸς, μέχρι Νερᾶς κώμης. — xvi. 1129.

points, it may now be found, that, scanty as are Strabo's details of the retreat, they will yet, with the collateral lights from Burckhardt, enable us to lay down the entire line, with an exactness, at the most important parts, which leaves nothing to desire.

The first stage of the retreat, or that from Marsyaba to Nedjran, owing to the change of route, was effected in nine days. This note of time clearly proves, that the *shortest* road between the two places was now taken; the direct distance, about one hundred and forty English miles, or one hundred and sixty miles, allowing for road measure, being about as much as even a retreating army could accomplish in the time. Its next stage, from Nedjran to a place named, (as Strabo informs us) from the number of its springs, *the Seven Wells*, occupied eleven days. The name, the time, the distance, all here unite to identify his *Seven Wells* with the town of *el Hasba* (in Arabic, "*the Seven*"); a place about one hundred and fifty miles due west of Nedjran, and the road to which passes through the province of Chaulan. From el Hasba, the Romans marched to the town of Chaalla or Chaulan (the chief town, we may conclude, of the province of the same name); and thence

to another named Malotha, situated on a river. That river is the Sancan; which the army had before crossed, near its termination, on the advance, and now re-crossed (unaware, it would appear, of the identity*), near its head, on the retreat. Here to re-cross it was inevitable, as will be seen on reference to the map: the Sancan river taking its rise in the mountains north-west of Chaulan; traversing the country in a course of one hundred miles from north to south; and thus necessarily crossing the line of the Roman retreat. The Malotha of Strabo is plainly identified, by the site, with the Tabala of Burckhardt; a town on the Sancan at this point, on the caravan road to Hedjaz, a short day's march from el Hasba.

From Malotha to Nera Komè, (*i. e.* from Tabala to Yembo,) Strabo furnishes but a single index to the line of the retreat†: but that index, alone, is an infallible guide: the road was nearly

* The change from the definite, *ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν*, to the indefinite, *πρὸς ποταμῷ* would seem to imply ignorance of its being the same stream; only crossed at different and distant points, on the advance, and on the retreat. — See Strabo, ut suprà.

† The route of the Romans, on their return, probably passed through *Mokhowa*, the terminus of the coast-caravans from Djidda: "In time of peace, caravans are occasionally met with on the sea-coast, towards Yemen, and the interior of Tehama, to Mokhowa." — Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 47.

destitute of water, wells occurring on it here and there only, at long intervals. Now there are two routes, described by Burckhardt, through the Tehamah northward*; the one, along the foot of the western mountains, abounding with water; the other, by the coast, scantily supplied, at intervals of several days' journey, by here and there a well. Mr. Burckhardt's descriptions of these two routes determines finally the question, as to that pursued by Ælius Gallus. "The caravan distance from Djidda to Gonfode, along the coast, is seven days, easy travelling. From Djidda to Leyth, another more eastern road, somewhat mountainous, five days' journey, *yielding plenty of water*: while, on the coast road, *but one well is found between the two towns.*" Again: "The country from Mekka southwards, near the sea-shore, to the west of the chain of mountains, is flat, intersected with hills, that gradually disappear as we approach the sea; of which the shore presents a level plain, in almost every direction, at the distance of several hours. In time of peace, the land road is most frequented by caravans; which *either proceed along*

* "The pilgrim-caravan formerly arrived by land from Yemen, along the coast. Another Yemen pilgrim-caravan came along the mountains." — Ib. p. 205.

the coast close to the harbour, or by the foot of the mountains. *The former way affords but little water.* The first inhabited place south of Djidda is Leyth, four days distant."*

Between Leyth and Djidda, the inland road is here described as "yielding abundance of water;" the coast road, as affording, in a space of four days' journey, "but one well." The former cannot, the latter therefore must be the road described by Strabo, as "a road passing through a desert tract, containing only a few wells."

Nera Komè, the term of the retreat, whence Gallus, with the wreck of his army, embarked for Myos Hormus, has been already identified, by its chief local characteristic (expressed alike in both its names), with Iambia or Yembo. The identification is completed by the perfect harmony, in the line of retreat here laid down, between the notes of distance, and the notes of time; the road-distance between Sabbia and Yembo, (about eight hundred English miles,) allowing, for the entire retreat, the reasonable average of a little more than thirteen miles a day.

That nothing may seem wanting to the completeness of this proof, it is very remarkable, that the character of the population, throughout

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 387, 388.

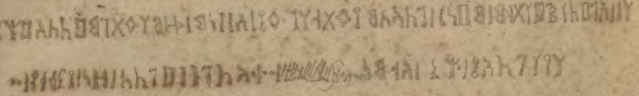
this line of country, tallies most exactly with the account given by Gallus, so far as his own experience extended, of the unwarlike disposition of the Arabs. For the whole of the Tehamah, from Haly to Yembo, is peopled exclusively by the Zebeyde; a branch of the Harb nation held so in contempt, for their trading propensities, and unwarlike spirit, by all its other branches, that to call an Arab of any of the other Harb tribes "a Zebeyde," is the greatest insult which can be offered to these "SONS OF WAR."*

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 238.

APPENDIX.

RUINS of NAKAB AL HAJAR

Entrance on which is the following Inscription



Sketch
of a route to the
RUINS OF NAKAB AL HAJAR,
on the Southern Coast of
Arabia.

Published for the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society by John Murray, London. 1837.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

HADRAMÛTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

In laying before the reader, in the following pages, translations, together with an alphabet and glossary, of the inscriptions discovered in Hadramáut, in 1834, by the officers of the Honourable East India Company's surveying vessel, the Palinurus, . . . it seems the simplest and most satisfactory introduction, briefly to state the steps, by which I gradually arrived myself at the results about to be submitted in this Appendix. From Professor Rödiger's success, in his reading and rendering of the first word of the Hisn Ghorâb inscription, 𐩮𐩣𐩫, *Smak*, "*We dwelt*," (although himself wholly unaware of the identity of the meaning assigned, with that of the first word, غشينا, in Novairi's

first inscription) *, I at once inferred, that, in the four letters of that word, I had before me

* I give Professor Roediger's rendering of this word, on the authority of a literary friend. In the Professor's "Versuch über die Himjaritschen Schriftmonumente," Halle, 1841, which I have since procured from Germany — (I presume his δεύτεραι φρόντιδες) — he has been less fortunate. He here (p. 18.) renders the word 𐩣𐩱𐩵𐩧, as a proper name. The first line he treats as a detached heading; and considers the second line as, properly, the first of the inscription. Indeed, a more decisive proof of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to unlock this monument, without Novaïri's key, cannot be imagined, than that furnished by the learned Professor himself, in his reading and rendering of the first two lines.

"So würde nun Zeile 1. lauten :

שמיק אסו ◦ ובניהו סרח ד כל יכמל ולידכר ד י ◦ קר ד נזל הי

d. i. Sumeik, der Sabäer (?), nebst seinen Söhnen, ist der Arbeiter, der (dies) alles ausführt. Und es gedenke dessen, wer du ruhet, wenn er sich hier niederlässt!

Zeile 2. beginnt der eigentliche Text der Inschrift mit den Worten :

ירחם אלהת כל ◦ ן ודיתשניו לדנם ◦ מתלן וסרקן וחזם ולי ◦ ן

d. h. Es erbarme sich die Gottheit unsrer Aller und derer, die in ihrer Anbetung übereinstimmen, unsrer Edlen und unsrer Genossen und der ganzen Schaar unsrer Freunde!"— Rödiger, Versuch, &c. pp. 19, 20.

On these readings and renderings it is enough to observe, that (with the exception of those in the first word, *Sumak*) scarcely a letter, and not a single word, exists in the Aditic original! I state the fact, with no thought of disrespect to the learned Professor; but simply to shew, that without Novaïri's key, all attempts to decypher these inscriptions must be labour in vain. — Had Professor Roediger, indeed, paused only to reflect on the position of the inscription, which stands isolated, more than midway up the face of the perpendicular cliff, and wholly apart, consequently, from the buildings above and below, . . . upon the circumstance of its being engraved, not on an edifice, but in the rock, . . . and upon its locality, amidst the ruins of an extensive city and fortress, . . . he would himself, I cannot doubt, have been the first to perceive the total inverisimilitude of its being a memorial, merely, by a private individual, (a wealthy burgher of the place!) and his two or more sons; designed to commemorate architectural or other works, to which it has no proximity, and any connection with which would infallibly be lost in after-times, amidst the numerous buildings of an emporium like the ancient Cane.

the true powers of four letters of the Hamyaritic alphabet. From the radical similarity of all the Semitic languages, I drew the further inference, that the few letters in the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, similar, in their forms, to letters of the Hebrew alphabet, were likely to possess the same powers. ך, consequently, I concluded to be ר (R), and ׳ to be י (I). From the immemorial connection between Southern Arabia and the coast of Africa, parts of which, from a period beyond all records of history, have been subject to the kings of Yemen and Hadramáut, I lastly deduced the likelihood (raised to proof in the first letter of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription), that such of the letters as exhibited similarity of form to letters of the Ethiopic alphabet, would be found to possess, also, sameness of power.

Furnished, by these means, with a sufficient number of elements of the alphabet, with which to try experiments on the unknown inscription, I proceeded to do so. The word first fixed on was ׳ךרכ, the fifth word in the fifth line. Reading it *Sarkna*, and looking for this word in Golius, I found سَرَكٌ, *Sarak*, defined by *Tela panni serici*, . . . being the synonyme, simply, for the word in the corresponding fifth couplet of Novaïri's inscription, viz. خز, *Pannus ex serico*

contextus, . . . a silk garment or robe. The whole description of the dress . . . its needle-work, its colours, its stripes . . . in this couplet of Novaïri, I subsequently recovered, word for word, in the corresponding line, and places in the line, of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription.

My friend, the Rev. John Jebb, Rector of Peterstow, in Herefordshire, on whose critical tact, in investigations of this nature, I long have had cause to place great reliance, pointed out to me, specially, the I in the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, as, from its frequency and position, to all appearance, equivalent to the Hebrew ו. The conjecture proved sound; and, in following up the hint, I obtained a fresh proof in support of the assumed identity of the first poem in Novaïri with the Hisn Ghoráb inscription. Observing *three* occurrences of the insulated I in the seventh line of this monument, each followed by a word, I looked at the seventh couplet of Novaïri's Arabic, and found it similarly constructed, viz. with *three* وَ (V), each followed by a noun substantive.

At this stage, it occurred to me, as a point of the last importance, to detect, if possible, that vital element of all the Semitic idioms, the *âin*. After some fruitless essays, it struck me, from the position of that character in several of the words, that the âin might possibly be represented

by 𐩷 (or a reversed *Sigma*).* I made my first experiment on the word at the moment under my eye, 𐩷𐩣, being the first word of the fifth line. I consulted Golius; and found سعي, *Incessit, ambulavit, cucurrit,* . . . being the synonyme for the first word in the corresponding fifth couplet of Novaïri, viz. نرفل, Jactatis manibus, *aut* jactato corpore, *incessit.* The force of this word, in the Hamyaritic, being given in two words, 𐩱𐩧𐩲 𐩷𐩣, literally, in Arabic, سع زيم, "We walked with a slow proud gait." My next essay was on the word adjoining the first word of the inscription, *Smak* (previously decyphered by Professor Roediger), viz. 𐩷𐩣𐩱. It proved equally successful. وسع, *Wasâ* being defined by Golius, *laxè satis consedit in aliquo loco:* almost the very words by which Schultens renders the first words of Novaïri's incription, *Viximus longum tempus, in spatiosa hujus arcis sede, laxissimam vitam.*

I followed the 𐩷 through every line of the two inscriptions; and, in every instance, with the same decisive results. Its identity with the âin was thus proved to demonstration; and every word in which it occurred, in the Hisn Ghoráb monument, turned out to be a pure Arabic synonyme for the corresponding word in Novaïri.

* Professor Roediger, misled by the form of this letter, has given it the power of the Greek Ξ: this one mistake was fatal to his alphabet.

With the progressive enlargement of my alphabet, there came an increased facility of detecting unascertained letters, by their connection with those already ascertained; while, in each fresh restoration, I was certified of the correctness of my word, by its agreement, in sense, with the corresponding word, in the corresponding line in Novaïri. The process, commenced on this principle, was carried on, until every line had been decyphered, and every word defined. The result was exactly what I had ventured to anticipate in my text *, on general grounds, and before I had discovered a single word or letter of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, . . . namely, that Novaïri's first inscription is simply a translation of it, line nearly for line, and word nearly for word: the only variations being, where, in one or two of the lines, the Arabic translator has missed the sense of his original; or where the majestic overflow of the original, carrying on the sense into the succeeding line, has been necessarily departed from by the curt rules of the Arabic couplet.

But this remark stands connected with separate discoveries, made either in the process of decyphering, or after its completion. . . . The analysis of the first line of the Hisn Ghoráb in-

* See Vol. II. Part I. Sect. VII. pp. 88, 89. 96.

scription taught me, that, whatever might be the laws of rhythm in this primeval poetry, the sense was not necessarily commensurate with each line. The proof enlarged as I proceeded: the sense, in some instances, falling short of the line; in others, overflowing it: the poetical effect, in both cases, being exquisitely fine. This mode of division accounted, at the same time, for the comparative shortness of the last line; whereas, in Novaïri's trim couplets, the lines are all of equal length.*

I had observed the phenomenon without reasoning on it, until my attention was recalled to it by a fresh discovery. My success with the inscription at large, to which I had the key in Novaïri, encouraged me to try my hand on the two lines immediately below it. They were decyphered with ease: and contained (as might be anticipated), the first, an account of the inscription, with the names of its two engravers; the second (a far more important disclosure), the names of the two tribes, between whom the battle recorded in the inscription, was fought.

In the former of the two lines, the first word, "divided," plainly referred to the lines of the in-

* The continuation of the sense beyond the line (so fine in the original) is not, however, always lost in the Arabic translation. The flow of the streams, for example, from the second into the third line, is very happily preserved, in the second and third couplets of the version.

scription. I turned to the plate, and observed that there were (as in Novaïri's version) alternate indentations, but not regularly, or throughout; and that the three lines below the first three, stood, line under line, without indentation. A good reason I was sure there was, could it but be found out. I had laid aside the investigation at this point, being called away by other duties; when, before I could resume it, a reason occurred to me for the seeming irregularity, . . . namely, that the indented, or rather the projecting, lines, were designed to mark the overflow of the sense. I examined the original, and my own version of it, to ascertain how this might be; and found, to my great satisfaction, that it was even so: those lines, invariably, being indented, where the sense flowed on into the next; and those lines, as invariably, standing out, and in range under each other, in which the sense terminated within the line. It instantly became apparent, that this discovery had a value, beside, and beyond, the light which it threw upon the earliest laws of metrical arrangement: that it stood, in itself, an independent, and demonstrative proof of the correctness of my translation; since, in every instance, that translation proved to have distributed the sense, in the most perfect correspondence with the artificial divisions of the lines, in the Hamyaritic original. And thus (as so often hap-

pens in all the pursuits of man) what, at the earlier stages of the process had seemed a difficulty, . . . the closing of the sense before the close of the line, and *vice versâ*, . . . turned out, in the result, the most decisive confirmation of the recovery to the world of the key to, perhaps, its most ancient language, . . . so long lost, so much desired, and so fruitlessly sought after by the first names in Oriental learning; from the days of our great Pocock, and that illustrious patron of all true learning, Archbishop Laud, to those of the erudite Kennicott, and the accomplished Sir William Jones.

Besides the proofs arising from this law of "division" (so strikingly explanatory of the reference to it in the account of the inscription by its engravers), in the progress of decyphering, the coincidence of particles and prepositions came in, on collating the Hisn Ghoráb inscription with Novaïri's, to corroborate the completeness of their identity throughout. I have already noticed the common force, as copulatives, of the Hamyaritic I and the Arabic ,, marked by the corresponding frequency and exactness of their recurrence, in the same couplets, and at the same points of the lines. I have now to point out, further, as a peculiarity of the Hamyaritic idiom, the grammatical effect of "the points" (also

specially referred to in the engraver's account), in changing the copulative I, into the preposition *in*. The insulated position of the I, in so many instances, at first perplexed me: it was too weak an element to represent a noun or verb; and stood too much apart for an "and." This dilemma led me back to its first isolated occurrence, in the first line of the inscription; where, with reference to the corresponding point in Novaïri's inscription, the sense required, certainly was, not *and*, but *in*. I tested, by this case, its other occurrences alone; and, in every instance, found *in* to give the best sense. And as the letter clearly had another place and office, in conjunction, as a prefix, to the nouns and verbs of the inscription, I could no longer doubt the object in thus insulating 𐩱𐩣𐩱, namely, to convert it into a preposition. This result led on to the reflection, that, in the ordinary Arabic, the single letter ب is the *radical* element of the preposition بِي *in:* the initial ب, in Arabic, being so constantly the equivalent only for the Greek *digamma*, as fairly to sanction the inference, that, in the Arabic as in the Hamyaritic, the original form of the preposition, as well as of the conjunction, had been a single letter; which, for distinction-sake, was subsequently modified, in place of the points, by the digamma prefix, ب. At the close

of the second line, I observed three letters, with points between, thus 𐩱 ◦ 𐩣 𐩣 ◦◦, belonging also, apparently, to the class of *particles* of speech; and requiring, from their position in relation to the second couplet of Novaïri's version, to be rendered as a preposition.* The correspondence of 𐩱 𐩣 𐩣, *aan*, both in sound, and in the required sense, with the Arabic particle, دون *Daun*, *infra*, or *supra*, satisfied me that I had found its true representative; and enabled me, at the same time, to correct Schultens's rendering of Novaïri, at this point, by substituting *supra* for his *inter*. In the concluding line of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, two vowels, between points, thus ◦◦ 𐩣 𐩣 ◦, *au*, again indicated a particle; while the corresponding point of Novaïri's last line, as plainly demanded one. The sense required was, *donec*, *until*. This, by Novaïri, is represented, as usual, by حتي. I turned to Golius, and found the *ipsissimum verbum* of the original, defined by that used in the translation, "او *au*, i. q. حتي, *donec*. *Camus*."

From particles and prepositions, my attention was next directed to prefixes and suffixes; those inherent augmentatives, common to all the

* ◦◦ 𐩣 𐩧 ◦◦, in the sixth line, is similarly circumstanced; the sense of the original requiring, here, the preposition *a*, "from," and the Arabic version supplying it. 𐩣 𐩧, it follows, is the Hamyaritic for عن, by which it is rendered in the Arabic.

Semitic idioms. Here, also, the Hamyaritic of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, exhibited the same principles with all its kindred dialects: 𐩣, *m*, being the prefix used to convert verbs, or participles, into noun substantives; and 𐩱𐩣, *nu* or *na*, the suffix employed, to denote the plural number. The common occurrence of the termination *nu* or *na*, the same number of times, viz. fifteen, in Novaïri's, and in the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, from the first, indeed, engaged my attention, as a marked indication of the relation between the documents, as original and translation; and the same phenomenon, I conclude, it was, which led Professor Roediger (with equal tact and felicity) to pronounce, of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, that "it was one of persons speaking of themselves, in the first person plural."

But by far the most important example of the suffix, is to be found in the seventh line: an example so peculiar, as to require separate examination; and so pregnant, as richly to reward it. In this wonderful counterpart of the faith of Job, and epitome of patriarchal revelation, my eye was arrested by the rhyming terminations of the words, ransshar*kab*, . . . dar*kab*, . . . meshar*kab*, . . . munkar*kab*. The effect upon the ear was obvious: but I was satisfied, where the mysteries of revealed religion were the theme, the *sound*

could not be the *sense;* that there must be a higher object, and a profounder meaning. I looked for the termination خب, under the root خبا, and found, as I had anticipated, the root to signify, *occultavit*, *occultatus*, *occultus*que fuit: *latuit:* and its derivative خب, *Res occulta et abscondita*, . . . in other words, *a mystery*. I could be no longer at a loss for the force of the word in composition; for the awful weight with which the sense fell upon the ear, seconding the clanging sounds, with a sublimity transcendently above the famous lines of Tasso, . . .

> Chiama gli abitator' de l' ombre eterne
> Il rauco suon de la Tartarea tromba;
> Treman le spaziose, atre caverne,
> E l' aer cieco a quel romor rimbomba!

The termination خب was missing, in the last word of the line, in Mr. Wellsted's published copy of the inscription; while, that it ought to stand here also, seemed plain from the rhythmical structure of the line. Having been favoured, from the India House, with Mr. Cruttenden's transcript of the inscription, I collated the two documents; and discovered that the omission of the final خب, was merely a lapse of his fellow-transcriber.* By their wise precaution, in

* I since observe, what had escaped my notice, that the final 𐩢𐩣, missing in Mr. Wellsted's text of the inscription, stands, in his margin, immediately above the last word of the seventh line, to which it un-

making three several and independent copies, these intelligent officers have enabled me to effect this, with several more restorations; which shall be noticed in the proper places, in my concluding observations on the inscription itself, . . . where the effect of the termination خب on the sense, in composition, will also be pointed out.

With these introductory remarks before him, I venture to indulge the hope, that not only the Orientalist, but even the general reader, by common attention to the corresponding alphabets, and constant reference to the glossary, will be adequately qualified to form a judgment on the fidelity, both of the following decypherment into pure Arabic, and of the accompanying literal English version, of, perhaps, the most ancient, and (as an imperishable record of the most important truths of patriarchal revelation) next only to the Hebrew Scriptures, the most authoritative, monument in the world.

In the first broadside subjoined, the reader will find the Hisn Ghoráb inscriptions, taken from Mr. Wellsted's copy corrected from Mr. Cruttenden's, subdivided into their proper elements, and

questionably belongs, . . . more slightly engraved, as if to supply the omission. Mr. Cruttenden, very properly as it turns out, incorporates it with the text.

resolving themselves throughout, the minutest parts of speech inclusive, into pure Arabic words; and, facing it, literal English translations of them (verbum verbo), divided by points or circular marks, so as to correspond exactly with the originals, . . . only the words not, as in them, run into each other. In the plate, and folding leaf, which follow, are presented, Mr. Wellsted's facsimile of the inscriptions (re-engraved for the present work by the courteous permission of his publisher, Mr. Murray); and, facing it, the English translations, unbroken by the points of the original. The reader will thus be enabled, both to refer the words of the English version to the corresponding words of the original; and to read the poetry without the drawback of technical, and imperfectly understood, divisions.

In order to present the words of the original inscription, with the Arabic words into which, when decyphered, they resolve themselves, together before the eye, and thus to obviate all liability to confusion or wrong reference, . . . instead of placing the Arabic after, or opposite, the Hamyaritic, I have preferred the form of an interlineary version.

In representing the Hamyaritic by corresponding words of the Arabic, I have confined myself

either to the Arabic roots, or to the particular form of the word demanded by the sense. It would require a De Sacy, or an Alexander Nicoll, (and they are no more!) to cast the synonymes into the finished mould of Arabian poetry.

ADITE INSCRIPTIONS, AT HASAN GHORAB IN HADRAMÂUT. — Discovered May 6, 1834.

(TRANSLATIONS.)

No. 1.

We dwelt · living long luxuriously ·· in ·· the Zenanas ·· of this spacious mansion ·· our condition exempt from misfortune · and adversity · Rolled in through our channel

The sea swelling against our castle · ·· with angry surge ·· our fountains flowed ·· with murmuring ·· fall ·· above ·

·· The lofty palms ·· whose keepers ·· the dry ··· dates ·· flung broad-cast over our valley date-grounds ·· they cast from the hand ·· the arid rice

·· We hunted ·· the mountain goats ·· also · the young hares ·· on the hills ·· with ropes ·· and reeds ·· beguiling them ·· we drew forth the struggling fishes

·· We walked · with slow proud gait ·· in ·· needle-worked ·· many-coloured ·· silk vestments ·· whole silks ·· grass-green ·· chequered ·· robes

Over us ·· presided ·· kings ·· far ·· removed ·· from ·· baseness and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men ·· and they noted down for us according to the doctrine of Hûd ·

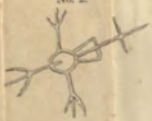
Good ·· judgments written in a book ·· to be kept ·· and we believed ·· in ·· the miracle-mystery ·· in ·· the resurrection-mystery ·· in ·· the nostril-mystery

Made an inroad ··· robbers ·· and would do us violence ·· collectively we galloped forth ·· and our generous youth ·· with stiff ·· and sharp-pointed spears rushing onward

Proud champions of our families and our wives ·· fighting valiantly upon coursers [redacted] bay

·· With our swords ·· still wounding and piercing our adver[redacted] flow of mankind.

No. 2.



No. 3.

With hostile hate, the men of crime

We assailed ·· onward rushed

Our horses and trampled them under foot.

No. 4.

Divided into parts and inscribed from right to left and marked with points this song of triumph Sarsah and Dursah ·

Transpierced and hunted down and covered their faces with blackness Awa · the Beni ·· Ace

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· The mention of the *Beni Ac* goes, to a certain point, to fix the chronology of the poem. For Ac was the son of Admin; and Admin, according to the tradition of Mahomet, transmitted through his wife from Salma, was the fourth generation from Ishmael. This, at the common reckoning of thirty years to a generation, would place Ac at that period of Jacob's life contemporary with Joseph, and about fifty years prior to the famine in Egypt and the surrounding countries; a period at which the Ishmaelites, as we learn from Joseph's history, had already multiplied into tribes and nations. In that famine, from Niebuhr's second inscription (concurring with the native accounts) the Adites would appear to have been broken down as a nation. The date of the poem, it follows (belonging to the period of their prosperity) must be a little, and but a little, prior to the Egyptian famine. The Mahometan writers, who count eight generations between Ishmael and Admin, consider this as the [redacted] part of their false genealogy. From the internal evidences, I am led to reverse the order; and to regard the subsequent part as that justly liable to question.

OBSERVATIONS.

In the first line of the inscription, the second word, *wâsâ*, denoting (with a fulness of sense unknown to the dialects of the West) "a long period of time, passed in luxurious living, in a specific abode," . . . is followed by a word, which but too well sustains the meaning; by the term *Zenana*, signifying, in Persic, "the women's apartments," and answering to the Haram of the Arabs, and the Seraglio of the Turks. That the word, in this sense, is of genuine Hamyaritic origin, we learn (as will be seen hereafter) from its recurrence, at a far lower period, in the short inscription over the entrance of Nakab el Hajar; where a Zen, or Zenana, is recorded, as the last of the buildings erected, in that stately palace, by the pride or luxury of King Charibaël. In the single phrase, therefore, Wasâ wa Zenana, "dwelling in the Zenanas," the poem, at its opening, presents a picture of Oriental luxury, carried, through successive ages, to its utmost height. The words next adjoining describe the felicity of this state; consisting in an epicurean freedom from the ordinary changes and chances of life. With this description the sense closes, before the close of the line.

With the last words of the first line commences a description of the locality occupied by the subjects of the poem: a description which flows on through the second line, to overflow into the third. By the book of Job we are prepared for the loftiest flights of poetry, in the ancient muse of Arabia; but I must own myself taken altogether by surprise, to find, in the descriptive poetry which I am about to analyze, belonging, apparently, to a still earlier age, ... a flow of numbers, a felicity of transition, and a power of making the sound the echo to the sense, perhaps hardly equalled, certainly not exceeded, by Pope himself. I venture to express my own impression; leaving it with the reader, when its grounds are before him, to judge for himself. ... The description opens with the rolling swell of the sea, rushing through a narrow channel before the wind, ... and the words, like the waters, overflow the line:

"..... rolled in through our channel *
The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge."

* When translating this line, I met a difficulty, which perplexed me a little, in rendering the last word, זַרְבֵּנוּ; the same with the Arabic زرب. *Zarb* is defined in Golius, "*Canalis* quo fluit aqua," i. e. *Anglice, a channel.* Knowing the port of Hisn Ghoráb, however, to be a bay, I was unwilling to put a force on the meaning, by rendering Zarb literally, "channel;" and, accordingly, had substituted "harbour." Happily it occurred to me to compare the original, and my own version,

A moment's pause, . . . and the rush of the mighty billows is exchanged for the liquid melody of fountains, falling from the neighbouring hills,

. . . . " and our fountains flowed with murmuring fall above
The lofty palms."

We hear and see the swell of the ocean: we catch the more distant and gentle music of " the springs, [whose fall is] into the valleys that run among the hills!" *

The same artifice of composition has been used

with Mr. Wellsted's description of the roadstead of Hisn Ghoráb, I instantly saw that *channel* was the only correct description; and reinstated the word accordingly. Let Mr. Wellsted's account of the anchorage and landing now be perused, and it will be found hard to determine which describes more faithfully, . . . the Adite poet, in half a line, or the English sailor, in half a page. " On the morning of the 6th of May, 1834, [a memorable moment in the history of discovery!] we anchored in a short and narrow *channel*, joined on the one hand by a low rocky islet, and on the other by a lofty black-looking cliff, to which our pilots applied the designation of Hasan Gorâb. Some ruins having been perceived on the summit of the latter, shortly after our arrival I proceeded to the shore, for the purpose of examining them. To avoid *the swell, which rolled along the opposite side of the island, and produced a considerable surf against the seaward side of the cliff, as it rose up perpendicularly from the sea*, we pulled into a small bay on the north-east side, where the water was much smoother.

With this description, again, compare the site of the castle at Hisn Ghoráb, in Wellsted. " Continuing our route to the top of the hill, houses nearly as numerous as those below, walls and other defensive edifices, were perceived at various distances, scattered over its surface; and, *on the verge of the precipice, a square tower, of massive masonry.* It probably once served both as a watch-tower and light-house, and may still be discerned, for many miles to seaward. Some of the stairs are of very large dimensions; the windows and doors are plain, without arches." — Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 421—425.

* Psalm civ. 10.

by Pope, after an interval of perhaps 3500 years, . . .

> "But lost, dissolved in thy superior rays,
> One tide of glory, one unclouded blaze
> O'erflow thy courts."

Surely, with Solomon, we well may say, "There is nothing *new* under the sun."

In the first word of the second line, 𐤀𐤃𐤌, *Aidama* (Arabice الدما, *Aldama*, or *Addama*), "the sea," we distinctly trace the Arabic definite article *al*, incorporated with the noun.

The third word of this line throws important light on the style of the Arabic version of the poem; since we have, in it, a clue to the preference given by the translator, in his choice of words. The term in question is 𐤒𐤑𐤓, *Kasar*, "castle;" which, in the second line, is substituted for the synonymous word, 𐤁𐤉𐤕, *wâïb*, "mansion," employed just before in the first line.* The translator, on the other hand, drops the term وعيب, *wâïb*, altogether, to substitute for it, at the opening of the poem, the synonyme, also used in the original, viz. قصور, *Kasar;* this

* Both from this poem, and from the second, given by Novaïri, their stately *buildings*, it appears, were the chief boast and glory of the Adites. Their *buildings*, accordingly, it is most remarkable, are the feature in their history, chiefly dwelt on by Mahomet, in the Koran.—"Hast thou not considered how thy Lord dealt with AD, the people of ARAM; adorned *with lofty buildings, the like whereof hath not been erected in the land.*"—Sale's Koran, chap. lxxxix.

being the term ordinarily employed in the later Arabic. This specimen may justly be taken as our index to the idiomatic difference of style, between the original and the translation; which, on comparison, will be found to consist chiefly, if not exclusively, in the use of a different class of synonymes. The remark extends to the Hamyaritic and Arabic idioms themselves; which, instead of being two distinct languages, are simply two dialects of the same language, . . . the obsolete part of which still represents the ancient Hamyaritic, as the part in use constitutes the modern Arabic. This inference seems unavoidable, when we reflect, that, although every word in the Hisn Ghoráb inscription turns out to be pure Arabic, and all the words prove to be synonymous with those in Novaïri's translation, yet one word only, *Kasar*, "castle," is common to the two documents. Fresh discoveries of inscriptions may enlarge our means for forming an induction on this subject; but, even from the limited materials now in our possession, my own conviction is clear, that the whole vocabulary of the Hamyaritic tongue is still extant in the great Arabic lexicons; which, on full examination, will be found to contain two distinct vocabularies, . . . a used one, namely, and one long out of use. Mr. Wellsted's information, derived from the first native author-

ities, including the testimony of the Imâm of Muskat, goes most decidedly to confirm this conclusion.

In the middle of the second line, the imagery (as I have already observed) changes, from the raging swell of the ocean-sea, to the murmuring fall of fountain-streams. This exquisite transition is nearly lost in the Arabic version; which, from this point to the close of the third line misses the sense, and thereby mars the beauty of the original. For rills, or the gentle overflow of springs, trickling down the hill sides, the translator, here, substitutes rivers, and the rush of mountain-torrents: thus converting the transition of the poet into bathos, by making the petty noise of a torrent follow the mighty roar of the sea. Not so the original; where the whole description is true, alike, to poetry and nature. The Hamyaritic particle 𐩱𐩣𐩣 (*aan*), answering to the Arabic preposition دون (*daun*), signifies, indifferently, *below*, or *above*: its sense is fixed by the context. The word 𐩣𐩣𐩲𐩱 (*shânu*), the same with the Arabic شان (*shân*), "a date-ground among hills," shows us, that we are, here, in a "hill-country." Hence it is, that the fall of the fountain-rills is described, by the poet, as heard *above* the loftiest palms, . . . trees remarkable for their stately height. That, in what

immediately follows, there was error in the translation, I had inferred from its unintelligible obscurity, before I had it in my power to correct the error from the original. The Arabic translator makes the poet describe the keepers of the date-plantations, as "*sowing* dates, both *green*, and dry." Had the word been "*selling*," instead of "sowing," the sense would have been clear and appropriate, . . . the sale of fresh dates, from the trees, and of dry dates, in baskets, being the proverbial occupation of Arab cultivators. But *sowing green dates* reads very like nonsense. The translator's nonsense, however, was quickly corrected into sense, on my first acquaintance with the original; where, in the third line, I found the "keepers" or cultivators, in other words, the Adite husbandmen, represented as engaged in a twofold occupation, viz. 1. in planting (literally, "scattering from the hand") dry dates, *alias*, date-stones, among the hill date-grounds, and 2. in sowing (literally, "casting down from the hand") grains of dried *rice*, i. e. the seed for future rice-crops. Misled by the strange blunder of the translator, I will freely own it was some time, before I opened my eyes to the genuine sense of this passage. Nor was it until, after reiterated research, I could find no other equivalent for the Hamyaritic word ,

arrazu, than the Arabic word ارز, *araz;* and no other available sense for the Arabic *araz*, than *rice*, . . . that I discovered, to my equal surprize and satisfaction, the singular lapse of the translator. The antiquity of the cultivation of *rice* in India, is proved by the concurrent testimonies of the Greeks; especially of the writers on medicine and diet, Dioscorides, for example, and Galen. And in the fact, thus incidentally attested by the Hisn Ghorâb inscription, of the cultivation of rice-crops in Hadramâut, in the time of the Adites, we have, probably, at once, the earliest, and the most authentic proof extant, of the high antiquity of the commercial intercourse, between India and southern Arabia. . . . But to pursue the analysis of the poem:

The fourth line of the inscription, corresponding with the fourth couplet of the Arabic version in Novaïri, contains a description of "the field-sports" of the Adites, and of their recreations as fishermen. In the former part of the line, the original is minutely descriptive, the translation more general, but, on the whole, not unfaithful. Thus, where the poet *specifies* the game pursued, namely, mountain-goats, and young hares, . . . the translator speaks only of *game*. The word rendered by me "mountain-goats," was the only word, in this line, which I found difficulty in decyphering. From the context, it was clear to

me, that it must be 𐩱𐩵, the same with the Arabic رَوِيّ, whence أَرْوِيّ, *Capra montana.* The characters, in Mr. Wellsted's copy of the inscription, however, though somewhat similar to 𐩱𐩵, were not the same. Sure of my rendering, from the sense demanded by the context, I considered the doubtful letters to be various forms of the *r* and *u*, and kept to my own version. My friend Mr. Jebb having, very justly, raised a question, as to the assumed identity of the characters, I was led to refer to Mr. Cruttenden's MS. copy of the inscription, with which I had been favoured from the India House; and there found myself completely borne out, . . . the word, in his transcript, being the very one required by the sense, viz. 𐩱𐩵; and Mr. Wellsted's new characters, turning out non-existent; being merely the manufacture of the transcriber, owing to his short-sightedness. A lapse of this nature, thus corrected by anticipation, was my own best guarantee, and a better can hardly be required by the reader, of the sense of the entire line in which it occurs. That the word in the original should be rendered "mountain-goats," I had first been led to infer from the circumstance, that the chase is described as taking place "among the hills;" and animals of the hare species being the other game hunted by these Adites, the description brings forcibly

to mind the parallel scene, depicted many centuries later, by the royal Psalmist:

> "The hills are a refuge for the wild goats;
> And so are the stony rocks for the coneys." *

In the next two words of this line, the closeness of the translation to the original is very remarkable. In both, the snares and gins used by the Adite sportsmen, are denominated *ropes* and *reeds;* evidently from the materials of which they were framed. The term expressing *reeds*, in the original, is חזי (*khazar*), the synonyme employed in the translation, قنا (*canna*). On reference to Golius (so accurate is this version) we find, under the Arabic word خزر, *khazar* (a reed or cane), this very word قنا, cited as its synonyme. . . . The close of the line, in the Arabic version, is, at once, pleonastic and unauthorized.

The fifth line of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, descriptive of the gorgeous clothing of the Adites, is rendered, word for word throughout, by the fifth couplet of its version in Novaïri. The correspondence here is too exact and uniform to give occasion for a remark. In the sixth and seventh lines of the inscription, coincident with the sixth and seventh couplets of the version preserved by Novaïri, we have a glowing account and eulogy of the Adite kings. Here the term ملوك, *Me-*

* Psalm civ. 18.

luk, the ordinary Arabic word for "kings," is employed by the translator, where the Hamyaritic original has 𐩱𐩧𐩺, *Hasiru*, also the Arabic for "kings." The definition of the word *Hasir*, in Golius, most distinctly explains the cause of its adoption by the poet, and its rejection by his translator: "حصير, *Hasir*, Rex: *quod, velo obtento quasi, disclusus.*" The title Hasir, it follows, was peculiar to the kings of Yemen and Hadramáut; of whom alone, among the Arab princes, it is recorded, that they passed their lives shut up in their palaces; and were thus secluded, as by a veil, from the public eye.*

In decyphering the inscription, by no one term was my patience more tried, than by this word, 𐩱𐩧𐩺; and by none, I may add, was it more richly rewarded. On the first discovery, under the root حصر, of حصير, *Hasir*, with the signification required, *Rex*†, I felt myself to

* In face of the consenting testimonies of Agatharchides (de Mari Rubro, pp. 63, 64.), of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. lib. iii. c. 47.), and of Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 1124.),—that the kings of the ancient Homerites passed their lives (like the Merovingian princes) shut up in their palaces,—Mr. Gibbon is sceptical: "I much suspect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers so often transforms into a fact, a custom, and a law." (Decline and Fall, chap. l. note 32.) His scepticism is refuted by the very *definition* of the title "king," as given above, in the Hamyaritic idiom.

† In a note on "Mr. C. J. Cruttenden's Journey from Mokhá to San'á," published in vol. viii. of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, I find it stated,—"Professor Gesenius, to whom all our inscriptions have been sent, has, we understand, decyphered the words,

have got possession of the master-key to the whole sixth line. On reference, however, to the Hamyaritic original, I observed, in it, the character 𐩤, the occurrence of which, in this word, had slipped my memory, and which I had hitherto taken for *l*. Though surē of the meaning of the Hamyaritic term from the context, my disappointment still was great; for the medial *l*, although a servile, must not arbitrariously be ejected. The drawback remained in my way, until, by the fortunate discovery of the true form of the Hamyaritic *l*, viz. 𐩣, in the inscription over the entrance to Nakab el Hajar, in the proper name Charibaël, I was led to the further discovery, that the character which I had mistaken for it, viz. 𐩤, was not *l*, but *i*; as is apparent, indeed, from its form, which is that of the Hebrew י, doubled. In 𐩱𐩤𐩧𐩺, therefore, I had, as I first thought, the Arabic word, حصير, *Rex*.

The second part of the sixth line of the inscription (corresponding with the second line of the sixth couplet in the Arabic version) opens with the word 𐩱𐩧𐩨𐩣 (شـزنا), which, by the translator, is rendered by شديد .... Golius and his

"King of the Himyarites." The discovery is all his own. No such expression occurs in the Hisn Ghorâb inscription. The case is clear: it is but too common: the late learned Professor *expected* to find some such expression; and, therefore, did find it. Discoveries of this kind are of but too frequent occurrence with mere scholars.

authorities shall here be answerable for the accuracy of the Arabic translation: "شزن, i. q. تشدد. Opposuit se alteri, contrave surrexit, in litigio. Gi. Ca. . . . *a* شديد, *Vehemens.*". . . A more perfect identification of a version with its original is not conceivable than this; where the lexicons of a language pronounce the version to be synonymous with the original. That now before the reader, he will observe, is one only among several coincidences of this decisive character.

In the words immediately following, the oriental periphrasis of the translation, is unsanctioned by the more dignified simplicity of the original. In the Arabic, we have, . . . "Vehement *against the people* of fraud and perfidy:" in the Hamyaritic, simply, "Vehement avengers of reprobate and wicked men."

The close of this sixth line of the inscription is doubly important, as containing, on the one hand, a *native* exposure of the lying fables of the Koran, and on the other, a decisive proof of the fallaciousness of the grounds, on which, too often, Mahomet and his imposture have been assailed by Christian controversialists.

Instead of the prophet Hûd (the Heber of Genesis) being sent, as is falsely represented in the Koran, to preach personally to his own collateral descendants of, perhaps, the tenth gener-

ation *, we have, in this line of the Hisn Ghoráb inscription, from the Adites themselves, the true account of the matter. Their poet here informs us, that they were instructed in the true religion, not by Heber himself, but by their own kings; who taught them, and established among them by law, the doctrine held, and taught to the post-diluvian world, by that patriarch.

Again, instead of *Hûd* †, being Mahomet's own corruption of the patriarchal name, Heber, as has been constantly alleged by Christian controversialists ‡, . . . we find it here (in a monument whose antiquity bids defiance to scepticism), as the name borne, among the lost Arabians, by that patriarch, within 500 years of the Flood.

From the sixth, as in preceding examples in this poem, the sense is carried on into the seventh

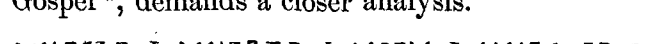
* The anachronism, however, is not violent. According to our received biblical chronology, Heber died little more than twenty years prior to the apparent date of the long Hisn Ghoráb inscription.

† The spelling of the name in the inscription, viz. 𐩣𐩱 (Ûd), corresponds with one Arabic form of the name, "أود (Aûd), nomen proprium viri. — Gi. et Cam." Also with ود (Wadd), the name of an idol of the pagan Arabs; which may justly, therefore, be conjectured to have had its origin in their reverence for Heber. "*Wadd*, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yaûk, and Nasr, (observes Mr. Sale) are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against; and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods; having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statues they reverenced, at first, with a civil honour only, which, in process of time, became heightened to a divine worship."— Prelim. Disc. p. 24.

‡ See d'Herbelot, Art. *Houd*.

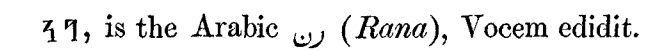
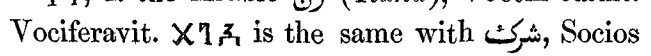
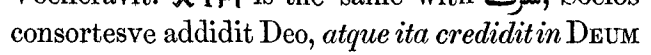
line. This artifice of composition is not preserved in the translation; which here, as in rendering the first two lines of the inscription, falls into couplets, the sense being commensurate with the line.

To the awful sublimity of the latter part of the seventh line, and to its wonderful coincidence with the sublimest passage of the Book of Job, I have already briefly adverted. But to do any thing like justice to a passage, which comprizes, in four words, the preaching of an anticipated Gospel*, demands a closer analysis.



Literally,

"And we proclaimed our belief in mysteries:
In the miracle-mystery, in the Resurrection-mystery, in the nostril-mystery."

 , is the Arabic رن (*Rana*), Vocem edidit. Vociferavit.  is the same with شرك, Socios consortesve addidit Deo, *atque ita credidit in* DEUM (in other words, in the TRINITY), and  , is خب, Res occulta et abscondita.

Having first stated, as a general proposition, the belief of the Adites in the mysteries of Revelation; the poet goes on to specify the articles of their creed: beginning with their belief in miracles.

* See Acts, xvii. 18.

For 𐤃𐤓𐤊, is the Arabic دَرَك (*Dark*), Restauravit resarcivit aliud alio: whence دَارِكَة (*Darkat*), *Comprehensiva potentia* (in other words, supernatural power), with the term *Chab* "mystery," suffixed.... The next article of faith is, the Resurrection.

𐤔𐤓𐤒𐤍 is manifestly the Arabic شرق, Ortus fuit Sol. Ortus Solis, (i. e. "The Sun risen again:" or, "Sunrise,") with the prefix *m*, to convert it into a noun substantive, and the suffix *chab*, to mark the mysteriousness of the doctrine. It is impossible more clearly or beautifully to express the doctrine of the Resurrection, than by this image: the very image, indeed, from which the term resurrection is itself derived. Accordingly, the common emblem of faith in this great truth, is *the sun*, with the motto, *Resurgam.* That such was the sense of the Adite poet, is demonstrated by his Arabic translator; whose synonyme for the original word, شرق, is البعث, *Resurrectio*, from the root بعث, Excitavit *è somno.* Resuscitavit *mortuum.*

The closing compound, 𐤔𐤓𐤒𐤉𐤌, appeared, at first sight, far more difficult of interpretation: although (as is so often the case in the difficulties of Scripture, and peculiarly of the Book of Job) when interpreted, the very obscurity of the phrase,

but heightened the awful grandeur of the sense which it, at once, covered and conveyed. As given in Mr. Wellsted's transcript of the inscription, *Munkar*, without the final *chab*, my first impression was, that we had here the *Munker* of the Koran, one of the two angels styled "Examiners," from their office of examining the dead, in the tomb, previous to the Resurrection. And I was sorry to think that Mahomet had such ancient authority for his "lying wonders." The only rendering for the word, taken otherwise than as a proper name, afforded by the Arabic, was نخر, Sonum emisit, spiritumne cum sono eduxit, per nares, . . . whence منخار, (*Munchar*), e naribus spirans. The agreement between this root, and the equivalent term employed by the Arabic translator, viz. النشر, Vita futura, from نشر, Revixit mortuus, Vivificavit, Resuscitavit, mortuum Deus, I will own did not at once strike me. But being led to weigh the meaning more thoughtfully, on finding, from Mr. Cruttenden's copy of the inscription, that the mystery-breathing termination *chab*, belonged to this word also, . . . the sense of the Adite poet broke upon me in all its fulness, when I remembered, that it is by *the nostrils*, and *the breath of the nostrils*, that God himself, in Scripture, defines *the life in man:* that, at his creation, "The Lord God . . . *breathed*

into his nostrils the breath of life; and [hence] man became a living soul:" that at the deluge, the same image occurs, in describing his destruction, "and every man; *all in whose nostrils was the breath of life* . . . died:" that, when Isaiah would describe the nothingness of the life of man, his exhortation is, . . . "Cease ye from man, *whose breath is in his nostrils:*" that, when Jeremiah speaks of *death*, his language is, "*The breath of our nostrils was taken:*" and when Job defines his own life, his words are these, . . . "*All the while my breath is in me, and the spirit of God in my nostrils.*" *

From the seventh line to the close, the poet (like Pindar, in after-times) having spent his loftiest flight on a higher theme, descends, as it were, to celebrate the event, to which the world is indebted for the existence of the inscription: namely, the invasion of the tribe of Aws by the Beni Ac; the prowess of his countrymen, in

* Gen. ii. 7.; vii. 22. Is. ii. 22. Lam. iv. 20. Job, xxvii. 3. While implicit assent to whatever is revealed in Scripture, *because it is revealed*, is the only test of faith; the divine truths of revelation are often done injustice to, by the consequent tendency to rest in implicit assent. How apt, for example, are we, to take the sayings which place the life of man in his nostrils, for an image or figure of speech, without a thought of the physical truth which they convey. Let the process of respiration through the nostrils, however, be suspended only for a few moments, and the labour and difficulty of breathing, and the painful sense of exhaustion, will soon teach the most sceptical, by a practical lesson, that it *was* into man's *nostrils*, that God, at his creation, "breathed the breath of life."

going forth as one man, against these foreign enemies; and the battle, ending in the defeat, and total rout, of the Ishmaelite "robbers." Its sentiments of patriotism, and domestic affection, form the most interesting feature of this spirited description: if the Adites fought and conquered, it was in their country's cause, and in defence of "their children, and their wives." The most curious fact in the poem, is the circumstance, that the combat was fought *on horseback:* that while, so many centuries after, the barbarous heroes of the Trojan war (like the savage Britons) knew no other use of this noble animal than as the drawer of the chariot, . . . these Adites already exemplified the historical fidelity of the Book of Job, when it describes "*the horse* and *his rider*," . . . already "managed" the proud war-horse, "whose neck is clothed with thunder; the glory of whose nostrils is terrible; who paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength, and goeth on to meet the armed men." *

* Job, xxxix. 19—21.

REMARKS ON THE SHORT INSCRIPTIONS IN MR. WELLSTED'S PLATE.

Finding myself master of the characters and words of the ten-line inscription at Hisn Ghoráb, I lost no time, and experienced no difficulty, in decyphering the short inscriptions, above and below it; although here unprovided with the key, in the previous example so happily supplied in the "Historical Geography" of Novaïri. The two-line inscription, "found near the long inscription, lower down on the terrace," from its position, at once, and its conciseness, antecedently to proof, might justly be assumed to be connected with it; and, not improbably, to contain an account of the monument, perhaps with names illustrative of it. In these anticipations, we should be fully justified, by the ordinary results of experience in similar cases. . . . The inferences thus sanctioned by the antecedent probabilities, proved founded in fact, on the two-line inscription under consideration being resolved into Arabic words: the first line turning out to contain an account of the engraving of the long inscription, with the names of its two engravers; and the second, the names of the two Arab

tribes, between whom the battle, which it celebrates, was fought.

The first line, rendered without preserving the inverted order of the original, runs literally as follows:

"Sarash and Dzerah * divided into parts, engraved from right to left, and pointed, this song of triumph."

The second line, conformed similarly to the English idiom, may be rendered literally thus:

"Aws assailed the Beni Ac, and hunted [them] down, and covered their faces with blackness."†

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* Professor Roediger suggests that *the name of the engraver* was, in all likelihood, to be found in the neighbourhood of the long inscription; and, in the absence of a true key to the characters, very naturally conjectures his name and nation (which he makes Abyssinian!) to be contained in the monograms, to the right and left, immediately under it: "Soll ich schliesslich auch noch ein wort, über die links und rechts unter der Inschrift stehenden charactere sagen, so möchten sie vielleicht *den namen des Steinhauers enthalten der die Inschrift in den Felsen meisselte*, &c." — Versuch, p. 30. He has mistaken only the place of signature. In the matter of his conjecture he is proved felicitously right, by the contents of the first line of the two-line inscription. In a monument obviously designed to last to the end of time, the *two* workmen, we find, have not failed to immortalize their own names, as well as that of their people.

† The expression is truly Scriptural and oriental: so the prophet Joel (ii. 6.) describes the path of a destroying army:

"Before their face the people shall be much pained;
All faces shall gather blackness."

And Nahum (ii. 10.), the destruction of proud Nineveh:

"She is empty, and void, and waste;
And the heart melteth, and the knees smite together,
And much pain is in all loins;
And the faces of them all gather blackness."

This latter line revealed, at once, the awful antiquity of the whole of these inscriptions, . . . Aws (after the name of their forefather, Aws or Uz *, the grandson of Shem, and great grandson of Noah) being the primitive patronymic of the famous lost tribe of Ad!

It is equally impossible to express or forget the feelings of awful interest, and solemn emotion, with which I now found myself penetrating into the "cunabula gentium:" conversing, as it were, with the immediate descendants of Shem and Noah, not through the doubtful medium of ancient history, or the dim light of Oriental tradition, but in their own records of their own annals, "graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever!"

It is the just maxim of Brucker, that, unless there be some special cause to the contrary,

And Mahomet, lastly, at the battle of Bedr (casting a handful of sand into the air),

"*Let their faces be covered with confusion!*"

To feel the full force of these coincidences, we must turn to the definition of the word 𐤔𐤌𐤔 or سمس viz. "Nigrum fecit vultum ejus Deus." — Gol. in voc.

* עוץ (Gen. x. 23.). In the inscription; it is written 𐤀𐤉𐤔. The name is spelt, by the Arabs themselves, indifferently, عوس, or أوس. (Poc. Spec. pp. 36. 42. 69. conf.) The Adite form of the name is identical with the Hebrew, in its medial and final letters: one of its Arabic forms, in the medial and initial, the other, in the medial, corresponds with the spelling of the inscription.

every nation is to be believed, in its accounts of its own origin. That this maxim holds eminently true of the Arab tribes, the present work affords abundant witness. But, if there be any faith due to the traditional history of Arabia; if there be any portion of the ancient Arabs, upon whose origin, course, and extinction, there is a universal national consent; that tradition, is the one here in question, and that people, the lost tribe of Ad. The Mahometan account of this primeval people, is thus given by Mr. Sale. "The tribe of Ad were descended from Ad, the son of Aws, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah; who, after the confusion of tongues, settled in al Akkâf, or the winding sands in the province of Hadramáut *; where his posterity greatly multiplied.... The descendants of Ad, in process of time, falling, from the worship of the true God, into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (who is generally agreed to be Heber, whom the Jews acknowledge to have been a great prophet) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together; and, entering *at their nostrils*, passed through their

* So the Koran: "Remember the brother of Ad [the prophet Hûd], when he preached unto his people *in* Al Ahkaf."—Chap. xlvi.

bodies, and destroyed them all, . . . a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place. That prophet, afterwards, returned into Hadramáut, and was buried near Hasec; where there is a small town now standing, called Kabr Hûd, or the sepulchre of Hûd. . . . Before the Adites were thus severely punished, God, to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, *afflicted them with a drought, for four years;* so that *all their cattle perished*, and themselves were very near it: upon which they sent Lokmân (different from one of the same name, who lived in David's time) with sixty others, to Mecca, to beg rain; which they not obtaining, Lokmân, with some of his company, remained at Mecca, and thereby escaped destruction; giving rise to a tribe, called *the latter Ad.*"*

In this narrative, when the chaff only of the Koran is winnowed from the wheat of Arabian tradition (the fact is equally certain and surprizing), we have the very substance of what is recorded of themselves by the lost Adites, in the two rock-graven inscriptions preserved by Novaïri;

* These are the Oaditæ or Aditæ of Ptolemy; as his Thamuditæ, are the Thâmud of Arabian story. For the existence of a remnant of Thâmud, also, in Northern Arabia, see Poc. Spec. p. 59. "The lost Arabians" (so entitled by the present races) do not appear to have been so wholly lost.

one of which only, the earlier, has, as yet, been discovered at Hisn Ghoráb. These monuments, indeed, neither make mention of the prophet Heber's personal mission to the Adites, nor speak of him as a contemporary: but the earlier inscription records the substance of this tradition, when it states, that the tribe of Aws was instructed in the great truths of revealed religion by their own kings, whose teaching was in conformity with the doctrine of Hûd or Heber. Again, both monuments are silent altogether on the subject of the miraculous wind, the instrument of the Divine vengeance, according to the Koran, for the final destruction of Ad (to which, however, whether fact or fable, both inscriptions plainly appear to have been prior): but the second * stands a *contemporary* record of that drought and famine of four years, in which, according to the universal tradition of the Arabs, the whole cattle of Ad perished so utterly, that, in the words of the inscription itself, "neither foot, nor hoof remained." In his notice of this famine, and of the prosperity which preceded it, d'Herbelot exhibits, yet more strikingly than Sale, the perfectness of the consent between the two inscriptions, and the accounts of the fortunes

* See Part I. sect. vii.

and fate of Ad, handed down by Arab tradition: "La première punition que Dieu leur envoya, fut une famine de trois ans consécutifs; pendant lesquels le ciel fut fermé pour eux. Cette famine, jointe à beaucoup d'autres maux qu'elle causa, emporta une grande partie de ce peuple; qui étoit le plus fort, le plus riche, et le plus puissant de toute l'Arabie." *

From this passage, it is impossible to turn to the section of the present work, which has given rise to this Appendix, and there re-peruse the Adite inscriptions themselves, without feeling, in all its force, the perfectness of the agreement, between the traditions extant throughout Arabia; "regarding a people that has been so utterly swept away," and its own still surviving, and imperishable annals.

Both in the constant tradition of the Arabs, and its travesty in the Koran, the one grand cause, which drew down upon Ad its awful calamities, was the impiety of this people towards God, . . . an impiety the more guilty, because nurtured amidst light, and "the knowledge of the truth;" and this, be it observed in conclusion, is the crowning cause assigned for the famine which consumed them, by Adites themselves, at the close of Novaïri's second inscription:—

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. art. Houd.

" Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God;
His footsteps fail not to be blotted out from his dwelling!"

It seems altogether impossible, that any ancient evidences could stand more entire or complete, than those now before us; although belonging to a period of the world, whose remoteness is appalling to the mind, and almost eludes the grasp of the imagination. For, while the occurrence of the name of Aws, at the foot of the long inscription at Hisn Ghoráb, certifies to us the possession, in that monument, of a genuine record of the long-lost tribe of Ad, the whole contents of both the inscriptions, as preserved by Novaïri *, sanction the conclusion suggested by the name; being neither more nor less than the counterpart of the national traditions concerning Ad, in its origin, its greatness, its guilt, and its annihilation.

* Among the benefits resulting from the demonstrative proof supplied, by the discovery and decypherment of the inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb, of the historical fidelity of Novaïri, . . . one, especially, cannot be too highly appreciated; namely, the weight, henceforward, attaching to the accounts of the Arab historians generally, from the practical testimony to their trust-worthiness, afforded by these verifications of Novaïri's history. What more liable to sceptical cavils and questionings, than his *Carmina Antiquissima*? Yet are these rock-engraven records, open, at this day, to the inspection of every voyager, who may touch upon the coast of Hadramáut! This one fact bears with commanding force upon Firazabandi's report of Ebn Hesham's account of the discovery of the sepulchre of Tajah; and upon the monumental tablet found in the tomb of that ancient princess of Yemen. See Vol. I. pp. 100—106.

The inscription which next claims our attention, is that in three short lines (No. 3.) described by Mr. Wellsted, as "Found on a small detached rock, on the summit of the hill." The connection between the ten-line and two-line inscriptions on the terrace, was indicated, beforehand, by their relative positions. Whether any, and what connection may subsist, between these and that now under consideration, from its insulated situation "on a detached rock," obviously must depend on the internal evidences. The contents of this inscription, when decyphered, . . . from the common theme, . . . warfare, the charge of horse, victory, and pursuit, . . . left no room for doubt, that it celebrated the same event, with that recorded in the long inscription. It may be rendered thus:

> "Hand to hand the men of crime
> We assailed. Headlong rushed
> Our horses, and trampled them under foot."

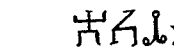
The only inscription remaining to be decyphered is peculiar; for it is a monogram, appended at the left-hand corner below, on the same tablet with the ten-line inscription; while the latter part of it is repeated, in faint outline, in line with it, at the right-hand corner of the inscription. Its position, at first sight, would lead naturally to the idea of its being connected

with that monument; and, like the two-line inscription underneath, containing, most probably, a name, or names, illustrative of it. On nearer examination, however, I saw strong cause to doubt their connection; and, after close scrutiny, can have no longer any hesitation to regard this monogram as an addition obtruded on the Adite monument, by Arabs of another race, in after-times. To this inference I found myself conducted by a first survey of the characters, with a view to their decypherment: when, in total variance with the order and regularity, so conspicuous in the ten-line inscription, it was plain that the engraver, here, had begun at the right-hand corner, and having faintly traced out a word in monogram, , and one in two letters above it, . . . passed over to the left-hand corner, and there engraved, in full depth, on the same line, a brief inscription in monogram, terminating with the same word previously inscribed in outline at the right-hand side of the tablet. This fact, with the circumstance that the two letters over it are traced so close to the last line of the original inscription, as completely to mar the symmetry so beautifully preserved in the execution of that monument, satisfied me, that, in

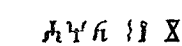
these monograms we had a new artist, . . . first, hastily violating the perfectly-proportioned spaces of the Adite inscription, and then mending his hand too late, when, after scratching his characters on the surface of the rock, he discovered his mistake. Even when discovered, moreover, the mistake was most imperfectly rectified; since, besides the disfigurement caused by it on the right of the tablet, so ill was the space now calculated, that the monogram, instead of its close ranging with that of all the lines of the inscription, runs beyond it by the breadth of the last word. But all the circumstances and proportions being thus at variance with those of the Adite monument, . . . I felt assured, whatever might be the history of this appendage, that neither Sarash nor Dzerah was the engraver, . . . that it owed its intrusion to some stranger-hand.

From the mechanical flaws observable in the execution of the inscription, I turned to the decypherment of its characters and sense. The process proved by no means difficult; and the result confirmed my previous inferences. For the monogram, consisting of the name and country of an individual, was plainly not Adite, but Sabæan: the name being that most conspi-

cuous in the long dynasty of the Homerite kings; and the country Sabæa. For

 *

resolved into its component characters, is

 †

in other words,

Hareth, or Harethah, the Sabæan.

The monogram, therefore, is the designation of a Homerite prince, most probably a conqueror; and if so, in all likelihood, the same with the celebrated king of Yemen, Hareth al Râyesh, styled "the first of the Tobbaas," fifteenth king of Yemen; . . . whose epithet, Al Râyesh, was derived from the abundance of the spoils, with which, returning from his conquests, he enriched his subjects. ‡

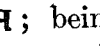
* The comparatively low date of this monogram, may be inferred further from the occurrence of the character ; a letter which no where appears in the genuine Hisn Ghorâb inscriptions; although found in the Ethiopic.

† This form of the name existed in the age of Mahomet; whose favourite servant was denominated Zeid Ebn *Hâretha*. — Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 56.

‡ Poc. Spec. p. 59. — *Hareth* the son of *Saba*, is another of the name, celebrated by the Arab writers as the father of Belkïs, — their queen of Sheba:

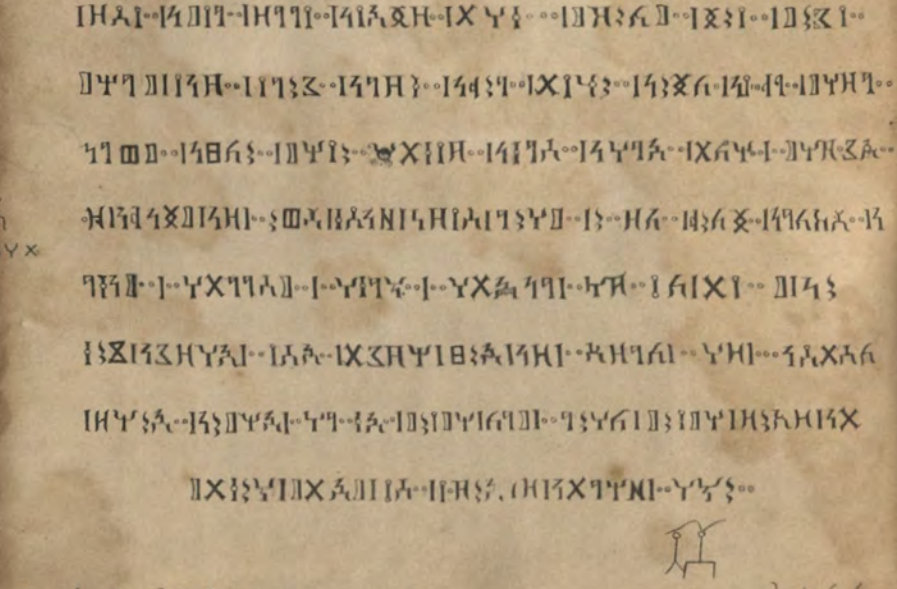
بلقيس ابنة الحارث بن سبا

Excerpt. ex Ibn Nabat. Comment. in Ibn Zeidun. Epist., ap. Rasmussen, Additament. ad Hist. Arab. ante Islam. p. 4.

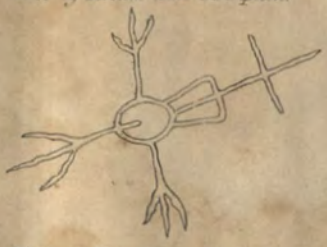
Mr. Cruttenden's copy of the inscriptions supplies further proof of their having been disfigured by unskilful transcripts of words, evidently copied from them, and inserted close under them. These disfigurements supply witness against themselves, as the work of stranger-artists and after-times. Thus, close to the first word of line 2. of the two-line inscription (No. 4.), and a little below it, we here find the word , . . . being a palpable copy of the first word in line 1., immediately over it. And at the left-hand corner, at the bottom of the three-line inscription (No. 3.), so close to the last word as almost to touch it, the word  ; being, alike palpably, a rude copy of the same word, *Zenan*, in the first line of the long inscription itself. Besides these words, there occurs, to the right of the added , the letters and , standing singly below the right-hand corner of the three-line inscription; evidently cut there wantonly, as a schoolboy cuts his initials on the desks of Harrow or Eton, or (far more objectionably) on those in Westminster Abbey.

Inscriptions at Hasan Ghorab in Arabia.

N° 1.— Engraved on a smooth piece of rock forming one side of the terrace.

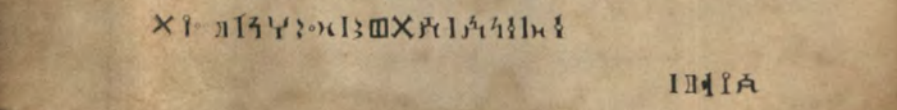


N° 2.— Engraved on the upper surface of a stone close by the next short inscription.



N° 3.— Found on a small detached rock on the summit of the hill.

N° 4.— Found near the long inscription lower down on the terrace.



ADITIC INSCRIPTIONS, AT HASAN GHORAB IN HADRAMÂUT.—Discovered May 6, 1834.

(TRANSLATIONS.)

No. 1.

We dwelt, living long luxuriously in the Zenanas *of this spacious mansion*: our condition exempt from misfortune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel

The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge; our fountains flowed, with murmuring fall, above

The lofty palms: whose keepers planted dry dates in our valley date-grounds; they sowed *the* arid rice.

We hunted the mountain-goats, and the young hares, with gins and snares; beguiling, we drew forth the fishes.

We walked, with slow, proud gait, in needle-worked many-coloured silk vestments, in whole silks, in grass-green chequered robes.

Over us presided kings far removed from baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men. They noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber,

Good judgments written in a book to be kept; and we proclaimed our belief in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

Made an inroad robbers, and would do us violence; collectively we rode forth, . . . we and our generous youth, . . . with stiff and sharp-pointed spears; rushing on

Proud champions of our families and our wives; fighting valiantly, upon coursers with long necks, dun-coloured, iron-gray, and bright bay,

With our swords still wounding and piercing our adversaries; until, charging home, we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind.

No. 2.

No. 3.

With hostile hate, the men of

We assailed: onward rushed

Our horses, and trampled them under foot.

No. 4.

Divided into parts, and inscribed from right to left, and marked with points, this song of triumph, Sarash and Dzerah.

Transpierced, and hunted down, and covered their faces with blackness, Aws the Beni Ac.

No. II.

HAMYARITIC INSCRIPTION OVER THE ENTRANCE TO NAKAB EL HAJAR.

In passing from the Adite inscriptions, on the rock at Hisn Ghorâb, to the Hamyaritic inscription, over the entrance of the ruins at Nakab el Hajar, we drop at once (an interval of nearly eighteen centuries), from the days of the Pharaohs of Egypt, to those of the Cæsars of Rome. For Charibaël, king of the Homerites and Sabeans, in whose reign, as appears from the internal evidences, the inscription now in question was executed, flourished in the first century of our era; being contemporary, as is generally allowed, with the emperor Claudius.

From the neighbourhood of Nakab el Hajar (the royal residence, as appears from the inscription, of this Homerite dynasty) to Dhafar (their capital), there can be little doubt of the identity of the characters in the inscription discovered there by Messrs. Wellsted and Cruttenden, with those in the inscriptions of which Niebuhr heard, as still in being at Dhafar; and which were reported to him as alike undecypherable by

the Jews, and the Mahometans: "On me dit, que dans les ruines de la fameuse ville *Dhafar*, environ deux lieues au Sud-Ouest de *Jerim*, l'on trouvoient d'anciennes inscriptions, qui ne pouvoient être lues, ni par les Juifs, ni par les Mahometans." * Our interest in penetrating into the mysterious and unknown, is naturally heightened by the confessed difficulty of the task. It was, therefore, with no ordinary feelings, that, after successfully unlocking, with Novaïri's key, the monuments at Hisn Ghoráb, I proceeded to examine, in Mr. Wellsted's plate of those noble ruins, the writing on the wall, over the entrance to Nakab el Hajar. The comparatively low date of this writing struck me at the first glance. The characters, indeed, manifestly belonged to the same alphabet with those at Hisn Ghoráb: but, although engraved on a scale of more than three times their size †, they were strikingly inferior, both in symmetry of form, and boldness of execution. In one exchange, moreover, the substitution of the Greek *beta* for the Adite *b* (𐩱), or rather their intermixture, ... this monument betrayed strong internal marks of its belonging to a period, in which the Hamyaritic language itself had become partially

* See note at the end of the Appendix.

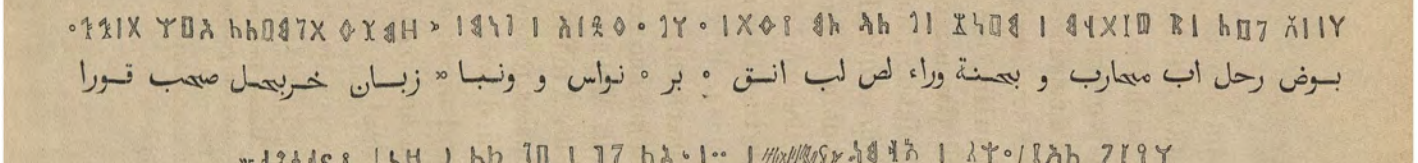
† Wellsted, Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 426., vol. ii. p. 424. conf.

affected, by the commercial intercourse of the Arabs of Yemen and Hadramáut with the Greeks and Romans.

These first impressions, as to the probable date of the inscription *, were decisively verified by its contents, when decyphered. The process happily proved less difficult than in the case of those at Hisn Ghoráb; not only from my knowledge of the characters, and of the identity of the Hamyaritic with the Arabic, acquired in decyphering those monuments, but also from the fortunate circumstance of the occurrence of no less than five proper names (three of them conspicuous in the history of Arabia), in the first line of the Nakab el Hajar inscription. The inscription itself, like its Adite predecessors, resolved itself, on analysis, into purely Arabic words; and, like them, is submitted to the reader, with those words underwritten, in the form of an interlineary version.

* Professor Roediger pronounces the reduced characters to be "so small and indistinct," as to put out of the question any attempt, on his part, to decypher them. See Versuch, p. 35. I confess I found no such indistinctness; and, when I add that the reduction was made by Mr. Arrowsmith, and pronounced *perfect* by competent judges, to whom it was submitted previously to its being engraved, it is clear the indistinctness exists only in the learned professor's imagination. Whether, in truth, the reduction was clear or otherwise, mattered little in his case; as we now know his alphabet to have been nearly altogether erroneous. The name *Mêfa*, which he discovers *twice* in the first line, has no existence in the inscription.

INSCRIPTION OVER THE ENTRANCE TO NAKAB EL HAJAR.



(TRANSLATION.)

Abode in this mansion Ab Mohâreb and Behenna upon its first erection dwelt in it joyfully in filial obedience Nowas and Wanba the Prætorian Prefect Charibaël lord of the Palace

Beneficently constructed the hospitium and the well he erected also the Oratory the fountains and tanks and built the Zenana in his era.

REMARKS.

The first line of the inscription (as Mr. Wellsted justly anticipated) opens with the names of the founders of the structure, together with the object of its erection, namely, for a royal residence; it goes on to add those of their son, or heir apparent, and of the "maire du palais," or prefect of the guard; and closes with the name of the restorer and enlarger of the buildings, who was plainly the author of the inscription, and whose name fortunately determines its date. The second line commemorates, in detail, the works of the restorer. In the centre of this line, one or two words are totally defaced.

For the purposes of decypherment, nothing can be more happy, than the number and notoriety of the proper names. The first, Mohâreb, from its place here, as the name of an Arab king, belonging to a period certainly prior to the Christian era, may fairly be identified with that of Mohâreb, the son of Koreish, and ancestor of the tribe Beni Mohâreb*; a prince and people celebrated by the Mahometan writers.

* "فِهْر, *Fehr*, qui et قُرَيْش, *Koraish*. . . . Fehro . . . extra lineam [Mohammed scil.] مُحَارِب, *Mohâreb* . . . Moharebo oriundi بَنُو مُحَارِب, *Banu Mohâreb*, qui iidem شَيْبَان, *Shaiban*." — Poc. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 50. — For Mohâreb, see, also, the genealogy of the family of Koreish, ap. Sale, Prelim. Disc. The name is preserved in that of the district *Machârab el ánes* (Mohâreb the heroic), 2 deg. N. W. of Nakab el Hajar. See Niebh. D. de l'A. p. 205

The title of *Ab* or *Abú*, given to this prince in the inscription, receives striking illustration from Mr. Wellsted's account of the Diyabí tribe, the inhabitants, at this day, of the country round Nakab el Hajár, and the descendants, we may justly presume, of its ancient owners. "The Diyabí Bedouins possess a great extent of country, and are very numerous and powerful. In their political constitution, they differ from any other tribe, in this vast peninsula, with which I have become acquainted, either personally, or by report. Instead of choosing a sheïkh or sultan as their representative power, they are split into seven divisions; each governed by a chief, *called Abú*, who exercises what may be termed a patriarchal authority over them. These chiefs assemble, for the discussion of all affairs connected with the general interest of the tribe; their decisions being regulated by a majority of voices. In certain cases, this office of *Abú* is hereditary, but, more generally, it is filled by individuals, whose superior sagacity, experience, and courage, entitle them to that distinction. Some peculiar usages, also, exist among the Diyabí Bedouins, with respect to depredations committed on the property of each other. The *Abú* is answerable for all thefts occurring within his own district; and he makes restitution to the injured party, provided the offender be unable to do so. If, on

the contrary, the thief has property, the *Abú* claims for himself a third, in addition to the value of the stolen property; as a further punishment, and compensation for the frequent losses he would otherwise be subjected to." * What a comment on the permanence of ancient usages in Arabia, is presented in the existence, after eighteen centuries, of the office of Abú, in the country round Nakab el Hajar, and in its occurrence, *as the title of the sovereign*, over the entrance of that seat of royalty and dominion.

The name, in the inscription, next to Mohâreb, is Behenna; defined, in Golius, "the proper name of a woman;" and evidently that of Mohâreb's wife and queen. That of their son Nowas, which immediately follows, elucidates the genealogy of Dzu Nowas, the last king of the Homerites; who perished, about seventy years before Mahomet, in battle with the Abyssinians. †

The fourth proper name, Wanba, recurs in one of the genealogical fragments, found by Mr. Cruttenden and his companion the late Dr. Halton, "on a detached stone, at Sana:" it is that of the prime minister ‡; designated in the in-

* Wellsted, vol. i. pp. 409, 410.

† Poc. Spec. pp. 63, 64.

‡ ونبا or وناب (from ناب, Princeps populi, or from نايب, Vicarius, Legatus alterius, . . . (whence Nuab or Nabob) has the appearance of a proper name derived from an hereditary office.

scription (a significant token of commercial intercourse and alliance) by a term answering to the Roman title of "prætorian prefect." The occurrence of this name and office in juxtaposition with those of the royal family, reflects a curious light upon the recorded customs of the Homerites and Sabæans; whose kings (we learn from Agatharchides and others), like the *rois faineans* of the Merovingian dynasty, passed their lives in the inglorious ease of luxury and seclusion; while their ministers, like the Carlovingian *maires du palais*, monopolized the power, and discharged all the duties of the state.

But these names, of exclusively Arab celebrity, are all thrown into shade, by that last occurring in this inscription, ... the classic name of Charibaël; that king of the Homerites and Sabæans, celebrated by Arrian *; whose alliance, in the reign of Claudius, was assiduously courted by the Romans; and who appears to have experienced, alternately, the mean flatteries, and the base perfidy, of those sovereigns of the world. The reader may measure my satisfaction by his own, when, after decyphering the purely Arab denominations of Mohâreb, Behenna, Nowas, and Wanba or Wanab, I lighted, most unexpectedly, and anchored, upon that of Charibaël. It was

* Arrian, ap. Hudson, pp. 13, 14.

like emerging, suddenly, from the dim shadows of twilight, amidst the distinct and substantive forms presented by the noon-day. What had been so often perused, in the Greek version of the merchant of the Periplus, now stood before the eye, in its native Hamyaritic; a *contemporary* monument of the fidelity of that intelligent and artless narrator. The bright ray of an inscription (that best light of history), from the gateway of his own palace, fell upon the Homerite prince; and, in the stately ruins of Nakab el Hajar, stood revealed, the residence, at once, and the royal estate, of King Charibaël.

While the contents of the first line of this inscription, so rich in the certainty of *known* proper names, were thus full of historical interest and importance; those of the second, in their turn, proved to be no way inferior in either. For the two main particulars specified, in this record of the architectural works of Charibaël, . . . namely, *the oratory* or *temple*, and *the well*, . . . are the very features, which arrested the attention, and extorted the admiration, of Mr. Wellsted and his brother officer, in their rapid survey of the ruins. . . . "The most conspicuous object is an oblong square building, the walls of which *face the cardinal points*. Its largest size, fronting the north and south, measures twenty-

seven yards. The shorter, facing the eastward, seventeen yards. The walls are fronted with a kind of freestone, each slab being cut of the same size, and the whole so beautifully put together, that I endeavoured in vain to insert the blade of a small penknife between them.... From the extreme care displayed in the construction of this building, I have no doubt that it is *a temple;* and my disappointment, at finding the interior filled up with the ruins of the fallen roof, was very great. Had it remained entire, we might have obtained some clue to guide us in our researches, respecting the form of religion professed by the earlier Arabs." * Can there be a doubt, that, in this highly-wrought edifice, we have the *oratory* commemorated in the inscription? If so, the name alone, ḥ ṣ ... صلاة, ... Locus precationis, "a house of prayer," is strongly indicative of the continuance of the patriarchal faith among the Homerites, to the commencement of the Christian era. Mere idolaters would have been sure to designate their temples, not, simply, "houses of prayer," but from the idols to whom they were dedicated.

"Above and beyond this building (proceeds Mr. Wellsted) there are several other edifices, with nothing peculiar in their form or appear-

* Wellsted, vol. i. pp. 428, 429.

ance." Among these remains, most probably, are included the "hospitium" or caravanserai, and the "zenana," also erected by Charibaël. But the crowning testimony to the contents of the decyphered inscription, is Mr. Wellsted's description of *the well.* "Nearly midway between the two gates, there is *a circular well,* ten feet in diameter, and sixty in depth. The sides are lined with unhewn stones; and, either to protect it from the sun's rays, or to serve some process of drawing the water, a wall of cylindrical form, fifteen feet in height, has been carried round it."* Here, manifestly, is a work of a scale and importance (in bore, in depth, in massiveness, a truly royal undertaking) which a record descriptive of the architectural memorables of the place, could not fail to commemorate: it is, accordingly, commemorated, in the second line of the inscription, as among the chief works of Charibaël. The contents of this line prove, beyond all question, that the inscription itself was engraved in the reign, and by order of this Homerite prince. And taken as a whole, in its proper character as a contribution to the history of the place and country, it seems scarcely conceivable, that more, or more desirable information, could be compressed within the space of two lines.

* Wellsted, vol. i. p. 429.

No. III.

HAMYARITIC INSCRIPTION, DUG UP AT ADEN, SEPTEMBER 26. 1842.

From the age of Charibaël, we descend, again, to that of Dzu Nowas, the last of the long dynasty of the Homerite princes of Yemen; who is recorded to have perished in battle with the Abyssinians, about seventy years before the birth of Mahomet.... For to the reign of this sovereign (although mistaken as to its date) Captain Haines refers the very curious inscription, which we are now about to examine; and the internal marks of the inscription, when decyphered, prove to demonstration the correctness of the reference. As this monument is, at the same time, our *latest* discovery in Arabian antiquities, unique in its form, and the only inscription, as yet, found in Aden, the chief emporium of the kingdom of the Homerites,... its importance will justify me in submitting the account of it, given in Captain Haines's letter to the Government of India, and, by its permission, published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. cxxx. pp. 958, 959."

"*Ancient Inscription found at Aden. Communicated to the Asiatic Society by the Government of India. With a plate.*

No. 29. of 1842.

From Captain S. B. HAINES, *Political Agent at Aden,* to J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esq, *Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 29th Sep.* 1842.

Political Department.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to forward to you the accompanying copy of an ancient inscription, recently discovered in Aden, by the workpeople employed in excavating the new road, leading up from the custom-house.

2. It is an interesting fact, that, though Aden, in its most flourishing era, was the principal sea-port of the ancient Hymyari kings, that no Hymyaritic inscriptions, previous to this, have ever been discovered, either in the ruins of the ancient town, or its immediate vicinity; though on the shores of Hadramáut, and inland as far as Sana, many beautifully executed inscriptions have been found, and transmitted to Bombay. In every other case, however, the characters have been found on oblong marble blocks, generally forming part of a gateway, as at Nukbel Hajar, on the Hadramáut coast; whereas, in the specimen now brought to light from a depth of twenty feet beneath the present surface of Aden, we have a circular slab of pure, and very compact white marble, with a raised rim round it, and apparently forming part of an altar. The inscription is not so well executed as

many others that I have seen; but it is perfectly clear, without flaw or injury. In removing the stone, part was unfortunately broken off by the work-people.

3. The antiquity of this specimen may very safely be dated from the first year of the Hijera; when the last of the Hymyari princes reigned in Yemen. After the conversion of the Sabæans to the Moslem faith, the altars erected to their gods were overthrown, and the religion of Islam universally prevailed. The character gradually became lost, as the Kufic writing spread over the southern, and hitherto unconquered country of Yemen and Nedjran; and is now extinct. *The learned professor, Gesenius of Germany, has succeeded in decyphering and translating a small part of one inscription,* found by the officers of the 'Palinurus,' during the survey of the south coast; and it is only to be hoped, that this specimen may afford an additional clue to assist him in his valuable, and highly interesting researches, regarding a nation that has been so utterly swept away.

4. The incription, it will be perceived, is a fac-simile, being an impression from the stone; and its accuracy, therefore, may be depended upon.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) S. B. HAINES,
Political Agent.

Political Agent's Office, Aden,
29th September, 1842.

(True copy.) (Signed) J. P. WILLOUGHBY,
Secretary to Government.

(True copy.) P. MELVILL,
Assistant-Secretary to the Government of India."

To begin with the closing remark of Captain Haines's letter, . . . his reference to the late Professor Gesenius, . . . I may observe, that my disrelish for the lax theology of that learned professor, would make me only the more careful to render justice to his merits as an orientalist, where called upon, by the subject, to notice them. It is quite necessary, however, in the present case, to undeceive the public, both at home and abroad, as to his supposed success, "in decypher-ing and translating a small part" (viz. "king of the Hamyarites"), in the long inscription at Hisn Ghoráb. The simple fact being, that (no such words existing in that inscription) he has not decyphered a single word. In his first rendering of the first word, *Sumak*, "we dwelt," and in his notice that the document was "that of persons speaking of themselves in the first person plural," his fellow-labourer Professor Roediger has rendered substantive service, so far as it goes: but Gesenius has done absolutely nothing.

In the characters of the Aden inscription, I remark, with Captain Haines, the obvious traces of a declining age and language: for they are not less inferior to those at Nakab el Hajar; than those at Nakab el Hajar, to the Adite characters at Hisn Ghoráb. The lateness of their

period, too, is further indicated, by the same intermixture, with the Hamyaritic, of the Greek or Roman B; and by a further change in the form of the H, which here resembles the Greek Π. These evidences of a low date, are strengthened by comparison of the material respectively employed: at Hisn Ghoráb, the characters are executed in the rock; at Nakab el Hajar, upon the stones of the building; at Aden, in statuary marble. But ill-cut characters, upon a costly material, like the statues of Trajan's triumphal arch upon the arch of Constantine, are sure signs of return to a barbarous age.

This consideration brings us, lastly, to the date of the Aden inscription; which, with Captain Haines (though on different grounds) I am led to place in the reign of one of the last of the Homerite princes, either Dzu Nowas, or Saif Ibn Dzu Yazen; but more probably the latter. My inference is drawn from the contents of the inscription itself; which decisively fix its date somewhere within the seventy years, preceding the birth of Mahomet, . . . the interval between the deaths of those princes. In this interval occurred the Abyssinian conquest and usurpation; and the Aden inscription, when decyphered, proves to be, not, as Captain Haines supposes, connected with religion, but, like those at Hisn

Ghoráb, the record of a battle fought and won, by the Arabs of Yemen, against "the Abyssinians and Berbers." Its tone (that of men casting off the yoke of the oppressor) peculiarly harmonizes with the crisis and fortunes of Saif Ibn Dzu Yazen; who had emancipated his country, and regained the throne of his fathers, before he fell by the treachery of Abyssinian assassins, belonging to his own household.

ADEN INSCRIPTION.*

نوش صيح وحن و اح حب و بـــربـــر ° يحق وحنـا نـاس يقس

"We assailed, with cries of hatred and rage, the Abyssinians and Berbers †:
We rode forth together wrathfully, against this refuse of mankind." ‡

* With the slight exceptions of the intermixture (as in the inscription at Nakab el Hajar) of the Greek with the Hamyaritic B; a variation in the I, which here, as in the Hebrew (its first occurrence excepted), has a single curve only; and a change of form in the H; . . . the characters of the Aden inscription are the same with those at Hisn Ghoráb, only rudely executed. On comparison of the three inscriptions, the gradual change in one form of the H, is particularly remarkable. At Hisn Ghoráb, in one example, it resembles the Greek θ, ; at Nakab el Hajar, it retains, exclusively, this form, but drops the bar, ; at Aden, it omits the bottom line also, ... The plate of the Aden inscription,

† ‡ For these notes, see next page.

What may be the present reception of the mysterious monuments of eastern antiquity, here, for the first time, laid open to the world, I pretend not to anticipate. In days of feverish excitement, restless activities, and high pretensions to proficiency in "knowledge falsely so called," in which we live, . . . in a word, in a confessedly non-reading, and, therefore, unreflecting age, . . . the most precious records of the past, very possibly, for a time at least, may possess, for the many, little charm. But however this may be, sure I am the day will come, when the value of these patriarchal evidences of revealed religion will be seen and felt in all their pregnant bearings, . . . upon the origin of letters; upon the philosophy of language; upon the word of God; upon the past history of this world, and the opening prospects of the next. . . . While the

transmitted by Captain Haines, being a facsimile from the marble, we have, in it, an infallible test and proof of the accuracy, with which the Hisn Ghoráb characters are given, in Mr. Wellsted's plate of those inscriptions.

† The 𐩣𐩱 of the inscription is the contraction of حبش or حبشان, *Habassini, Æthiopes;* as plainly appears from the name with which it stands in conjunction, . . . 𐩵𐩣𐩵𐩣, the *Berbers*, an adjoining African race. See Glossary, or Golius in voc. بربر.

‡ There is a striking coincidence of sentiment and expression, between this inscription, and the three-line inscription at Hisn Ghoráb: both refer to an equestrian combat; they breathe the same spirit of deadly hostility; and the leading word, 𐩵𐩣𐩵 "we assailed hand to hand the enemy," is common to both.

decay of solid learning, in these countries, is observed and lamented by the thinking few; and the decline even of popular literature is felt and deprecated, by those best practical judges of the state of letters, the printers, and publishers, and booksellers throughout the land;... sure I am the day will yet return, when England, "the first of the nations," awakened and herself once more, will learn, as of old, to cherish and honour in her sons, neither that "heady setting forth of extremities," which the true father of the Anglican reformation, the good and great Bishop Ridley, declared, with his latest breath, "he did never love;" nor the pursuit of ephemeral controversies, and "questions and strifes of words;" but those patient and silent labours of the closet and the desk, which (under the guidance and blessing of the Divine Head of the Church) gave birth to her illustrious worthies of "the olden time," and from which, future Lightfoots, and future Pococks, can alone arise. To be humbly instrumental, in any measure, in ministering food, hereafter, to the minds and studies of such men, is, for the present writer, sufficient honour and reward: conscious and mindful as he is, with the great Scaliger, that "he who has lived to throw light on a single passage of Scripture, has not lived in vain."

No. IV.

ALPHABETS.

Aditic Alphabet. From the Inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Power.	*Double-letter Hamyaritic Alphabet.** From the Inscription at Nakab el Hajar.
𐩱 𐩲	ا ا	א	A	𐩱 𐩲 𐩳 𐩴 𐩵 𐩶
𐩸 𐩹 𐩺 𐩻 𐩼 𐩽 𐩾	ب ب	ב	B	𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺 𐩻 𐩼
𐩿 𐪀 𐪁 𐪂	ط ت	ט ת	T	
𐪃† 𐪄 𐪅 𐪆 𐪇	ح ه	ה	H	𐪆 𐪇†
𐪈	خ	ח	KH	𐪈
𐪉 𐪊	د د	ד	D	
𐪋	ذ	ז	DZ	
𐪌 𐪍 𐪎	ر ر	ר	R	𐪌 𐪍 𐪎 𐪏 𐪐 𐪑 𐪒
𐪓 𐪔 𐪕 𐪖 𐪗 𐪘	ز ز	ז	Z	𐪓

ش		ש	S	
ث ش		ש	SH	
ص		ס	S	
ض		ע	Aa	
ع غ		ב פ	K	
ا		ל	L	
ء		מ ם	M	
		נ	N	
؛		ר	V U	
ع		ה	H	
ء		‡ ’	I	

* In this alphabet, and in that of the inscriptions found at Sanaa, may clearly be traced the origin of the *Literæ duplices* of the Syriac alphabet. See Castel's Polygl. Lex. tom. i. ad init.

† This form of the H receives conclusive illustration from the corresponding character in the Sanaa inscriptions; which is identical in form with the ancient Hebrew H, as it is represented on the Jewish or Israelitish shekels, in the plate prefixed to vol. ii. of Archdeacon Wrangham's edition of Walton's Prolegomena: viz. 囧. The inscription "on the side of a house in the Bazaar San'á," gives the H twice, in immediate conjunction, in both forms, viz. 囧 囧.

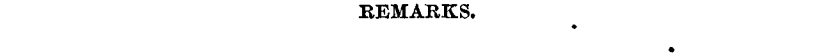
‡ This form of the Hebrew I is from an ancient Jewish shekel. See Wrangham's Walton, ut suprà.

REMARKS.

On the face of the first of these alphabets *, formed exclusively from the inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb, may be pointed out some significant indications of the primitive period of the world to which it belongs: for example, 1. its fewer letters; 2. its fewer subdivisions, in form and

* Although the collection edited by Von Hammer (4to, London, 1806), under the title of "Ancient Alphabets," is, what it has been most justly pronounced (See Journal of the Roy. Geograph. Soc. vol. viii. p. 287. note), "one of the many literary frauds, with which the half-learned in Asia have endeavoured to raise their reputation at the expense of truth,"—it would be a mistake to assume that the elements of this collection are altogether arbitrary and ideal. For, not to notice the obvious plagiarisms from sources familiarly known to orientalists, the following *newly-discovered* characters of the Hisn Ghoráb and Nakab el Hajar inscriptions occur in those alphabets; and with the same powers assigned to them, independently, in the Appendix.

(A). (B). (H). (K.)


(Dz). (N). (S). See "Ancient Alphabets," pp. 70, 133. 44, 56. 37, 132. 33, 26. 75. 72, 75. 12.

Now, as these are real characters, extant in the Hadramûtic inscriptions, they must have been borrowed, either from those inscriptions themselves, or from Hamyaritic alphabets found elsewhere. And as, until within the last ten years, the very existence of the characters was unknown beyond the limits of Southern Arabia, and their powers continue altogether unknown to the Arabs of the South to this day,—it is very plain that the knowledge, at once, of the forms and powers among the Arabs of the North, must be referred to a very high antiquity. From whatever sources, therefore, this knowledge crept into the Cairo MS. of the pseudo-Ibn Washih, it is decisive as to the correctness of the powers, *previously* assigned by me to the characters in question, on other and independent grounds.

power, of the same radical letter; and, 3. the unsettledness indicated by the occasional interchange of letters, or by the assignment of different powers to the same character.

1. With regard to the first point, indeed, the number of the letters, nothing, as yet, can be pronounced with certainty upon the completeness of an alphabet, formed from materials so limited; especially as the occurrence of several of the letters, the *Lam*, for example, the *Sad*, and the *He* (*l*, *s* acutum, and *h*), each in one instance only, leaves room to conjecture that, in these inscriptions, there may be a pretermission of some letters altogether. Still, as we find here twenty letters, being only three less than in the Hebrew alphabet, the probability of omissions is any thing but high. Another proof of completeness is contained in the fact, that no new letter is discernible, in the more recent inscriptions at Nakab el Hajar, Sanaa, and Aden.

2. The next indication of antiquity, the fewer subdivisions of letters, is still more remarkable. Thus, with the exception (if it be one) of the apparent occurrence of the *Sad* or *Samech*, in a single instance, the powers of the *S* are represented by the *Sin* and *Schin*. The *Ta* occurs only in one doubtful example; and, although seemingly denoted separately by some forms,

which, accordingly, I have referred to it, the *T* (as in the Assyrian and Chaldean dialects) is more commonly merged in the *S*. But this peculiarity belongs and brings us to the third note of antiquity.

3. The unsettledness implied in the interchange, or indifferent use, of similar letters: a fluctuation strongly indicative of an early stage, if not of the origin itself, of letters and written language. As this phenomenon may be fully seen, from comparison of the words of the Hisn Ghorâb inscriptions with their interlineary Arabic representatives, it will suffice to refer the reader to the interlined copy. I shall proceed, therefore, without pausing upon this topic, to notice one or two circumstances more.

In the numerous forms of the B, Hh, Z, and of the two representatives of the S, or the *Sin* and *Schin*, (of the former of which letters we find no less than nine, and, of the latter, at least six varieties,) we may trace the germs of the Ethiopic syllabary. The *Sad* or *Samech*, , with one limb abridged, supplies a further, and striking note of the origin, in part, of the alphabet of that language. The circlets, and other discriminative marks, *attached*, in so many instances, to letters of the Hisn Ghorâb inscriptions, are obviously of the same nature with the vowel and dia-

critic points, *detached* from the letters of the Hebrew and Arabic alphabets. In dialects of common origin, in which the vowels are, for the most part, understood, there can be no mistaking the common office of such notes of discrimination.

The derivation of the Arabic vowel and diacritic points from the distinctive letter-marks of the Hamyaritic, thus plainly sanctioned by the nature and reason of the case, will be corroborated, on comparison, by the similarity, in several instances, of the forms. Thus the ◦, which is added so frequently to the Hamyaritic letters in composition, is precisely the original form of the Arabic *Gjesma:* "quod indicat litteram illo affectam cum vocali præcedente in una syllaba esse copulandam. Figura ejus est circellus, (◦), qui haud raro tamen *imperfecte* pingitur (◡) vel (◠)." —J. H. Hirtii, Institut. Arab. Ling. Again, the minute inclined, or horizontal strokes, at the top of so many of those letters (and which remain, as finishing touches only, in ours), correspond in form with the Arabic Fatha ◌ً, as those at the bottom do with the Kesre ◌ٍ. The inflected marks above ◌ٌ, and ◌ٗ, seem fairly represented by the vowel point *Damma* ◌ُ, and the diacritic *Hamza* ◌ٔ reversed. These suggestions I throw out as they occur, not as esta-

blishing the laws of the coincidences to which they point, but for the consideration of oriental grammarians, and as essays towards the analysis of the oldest language in the world; and towards a nearer approach, in it, than has yet been made, to researches and discoveries, at the fountain-head, upon the origin of letters, and the philosophy of language.

These reflections naturally conduct the mind to *the date* of the Hisn Ghoráb alphabet. The same evidences which assign to this alphabet a date within five centuries of the deluge, assert its claim to be the first alphabet of mankind. For, although the tongues were confounded shortly after that event, there is no reason to suppose that the signs of speech were changed. On the contrary, the extraordinary coincidences of form, between the characters used by the most different and distant nations, plainly lead to the directly opposite inference, viz. the common, and, therefore, the primeval origin of written language. But if this be so, there is every moral presumption to favour the belief, that, in the Hisn Ghoráb inscriptions, we recover the alphabet of THE WORLD BEFORE THE FLOOD.

GLOSSARY.

No. V.

COLUMN I.

Words of the ten-line Hisn Ghorâb Inscription in Hamyaritic and Arabic, with their definitions from Golius.

Line 1.

𐩣𐩫𐩧.—سمك, (Samak, Samk) Tectum, domus.

𐩵𐩬𐩡.—وسع, (Wasâ) Commode comprehensus fuit, atque laxe satis consedit in aliquo loco.

∘∘ 𐩡 ∘∘∘, In.

𐩻𐩡𐩻𐩨.—زنانه, (Zenan, Zenana) Persice, "The women's apartments."—Richardson.

𐩺𐩮𐩲𐩡.—وعيب, (Wâib) Ampla domus.

𐩦𐩨.—ذل, (Dzal) اذلال, Conditio, status.

𐩱𐩡𐩡𐩹.—راش, (Raash) Bono statu commodoque fuit, et lætiore usus fortunâ.

GLOSSARY.

COLUMN II.

Synonymes of the Arabic Version.

Couplet 1.

غني, Substitit, commoratus fuit, aliquo loco.

زمانا, Longum tempus. زمن, Tempore multo duravit.

في, In.

عرصة, Atrium, locus spatiosus in medio ambientium habitaculorum, et omni vacuus structurâ. عرس, Paries inter duos parietes domicilii hyemalis. عروس, Sponsa, deducta in domum sponsi.

قصور, Palatium, arx.

عاش, Vitam duxit. عايش, Vivens, *pec.* bono statu, vir.

[رخي, Laxus, mollis, ... fuit. رخا, Laxitas, et Amplitudo opum, commoditas bonorum. *]

* This important synonyme, inadvertently pretermitted by Schultens, I have fortunately recovered from the Leyden MS. used by him, in time for insertion in the revise of this sheet.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

ΙΓΠ.—امر, (Mara, Amar) Malum, infortunium: *à rad.* مر, Amarus fuit, amaritudo.

ΙΙΗϟ.—شص, *Fut.* I., *Act.* شصوص, *et* شصاص, (Shas, Shasus, Shashas) Adversis, *pec.* inopiâ annonæ, angusta et afflicta fuit vita. شصاصا, (Shasasâ) Adversitas, penuria anni.

ΨΗΙΫΙ.—قسب, (Khasab) Fluxit aqua. *Vel* خزب, (Khazib) Tumuit.

ΙΨΓΗ.—زرب, (Zarb) Canalis, quo fluit aqua.

Line 2.

ϟΙ.—ال, (Al, in conjunct. cum d, A'd) Particula inseparabilis; nempe, Articulus omnis generis, numeri, et casus, quo nomina, ex indefinitis, fiunt definita, atque restringuuntur.

ΙΠΥ.—داما, (Dama) Mare.

ΨΓ*.—سرب, (Sarb) Ingressus fuit in rem, totum subivit implevitque locum. Species *aquæ* . . . apparens in arenis.

ΓΨΙΧ.—قصور, (Khasar) Palatium, arx.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

ضنك, Angustus fuit. Debilis... spiritu fuit. ضنيك, Vita angusta. غير ضنك, Sine angustiâ.

نزر, Paucus, exilis, et vilis fuit. منزور, Modicum et exile donum.

فاض, Copiosa fuit aqua, et redundavit adeò ut efflux-erit.

علينا, In nos. [This poor expletive is the Arabic translator's substitute for the "channel" of the original, so graphically descriptive of the locality. Compare Wellsted, vol. ii. p. 421.]

Couplet 2.

بحر, Mare.

مد, Fluxus, *pec.* Accessus maris. زخر, Impletus fuit, et exundavit. زاخر, Pleno æstu excrescens et tumidum mare.

[قصور, Vide suprà, ap. l. 1.]

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐤀𐤍.—نَاءَ, (Nâ) Surrexit contra alium.

𐤆𐤇𐤉𐤇.—زخة, (Zakhat) Excandescentia, ira, *à rad.* زخ, Iratus fuit, excanduit.

𐤓𐤍𐤌.—رنم, (Ranem) Sonuit, gemuit.

𐤉𐤌𐤓𐤍.—مور, (Marna, Mûr) Fluctus, unda.

𐤏𐤉𐤒.—عيق, (Âik) Vociferatus fuit.

𐤀𐤁𐤆𐤌.—ابزن, (Bzamu, Abzan) Crater fontis, seu conceptaculum aquæ ex fonte emissæ; *à rad.* بازن.

𐤃𐤅𐤍.—دون, (Daun) Infra, sub; *et contrariâ signif.* Suprà.

Line 3.

𐤀𐤏𐤌𐤉𐤌.—عميمة, *pl.* عم, (Aâimu, Aâmimat) Procera palma.

𐤀𐤉𐤊𐤅.—واق, وقي, (Aikhu, Wakhi, Wakh) Custos, protector, defensor.

𐤔𐤆𐤓𐤁.—شز *et* شزيز, Aridus. شزازة, Ariditas, (Meshasmu, Shaz.)

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

[علينا, Vide suprà, p. 413.]

[زاخر, Vide suprà, p. 413., l. ante-penult.]

[بالماء, Cum aquâ.]*

وانهارنا, Fluvii nostri. مبزعة, *à* بزع, Auctus fuit, abundavit. يجر, *à* جري, Fluxit. مجري, Locus ubi quid ad cursum fluxumque dimittitur, seu currit et fluit: alveus, canalis.

[No equivalent is found, in the Arabic version, for this preposition; but Schultens, like a true scholar, perceives the want, and supplies it in his Latin version of the Arabic.]

Couplet 3.

خلال نخيل, "Palmeta procera." — Schult.

نطر, Custodem et observatorem egit; *pec.* palmeti vineæve. *Pl.* نواطر.

* This synonyme, also, has been recovered from the Leyden MS.; where (like a preceding one, رخي) it had been overlooked, in his transcript, by Schultens.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐩺𐩱. — قبة, (Khab) Dactylus recens qui exaruit.

𐩧𐩵. — خو, (Khu) Fluvius alveusve amplus.

𐩵𐩣. — زخ, (Zakh) Dejecit. Deorsum conjecit.

𐩧𐩱𐩱𐩤. — شان, (Shan) Vena terræ in monte exporrecta. in qua palmæ aut نبع crescunt.*

𐩧𐩣𐩲𐩲𐩱. — ارز, (Arazu, Araz) *Chald.* אורז, Ὄρυζα, Oryza.

𐩲𐩱𐩲. — رمي, (Ram, Rami) Jecit, projecit, abjecit *è manu rem.*

𐩧𐩣𐩤𐩱. — شز, (Ashazu, al Shaz) Aridus.

Line 4.

𐩺𐩣𐩲. — زرب, (Razb, pro Zarb) Latibulum ingressus fuit, cepitve venator. Latibulum lustrumve ferarum. Latibulum venatoris.

𐩧𐩱𐩺𐩣𐩲. — Venabamur.

* The phrase بالقسب المجزع, of the Arabic version is clearly a paraphrase explanatory of the 𐩧𐩱𐩱𐩤 in the original. The sense, here, can be arrived at, only by comparison of the translation with the original. Schultens, accordingly, who had only the version to guide him, has missed it altogether: substituting the unmeaning words *omnis generis*, merely to fill up the blank.

The luxuriant abundance of the palm groves of this neighbourhood is specially noticed by Captain Haines. — "Hargiah: a town under the Sheekdom of Doan; distant two days' journey inland from Mughda;

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

باسق, Dactylus suavis et flavus.

قسب, Fluxit aqua. قسيب, Fluxus.

نف, Consevit terram.

جزع, Flexura seu diverticulum fluvii, alveive,... ubi in duos ramos dispescitur. *

[This word, and, with it, the sense of half the line, are wholly missed by the Arabic translator.]

و, Et, atque. [نف, *subintell.*]

التمر, Dactylus servari idoneus; maturus et siccior.

Couplet 4.

صاد, Venatus fuit. Cepit illi prædam. صياد, Venator. صيد, Venaticus canis. مصيد, Venatione captus.

نصطاد, Venabamur.

and from whence the people of that village are supplied *with dates*, &c. It is situated between the southward and second range of the Wyadee mountains. The population amounts to 3000; and it is generally considered a fertile and flourishing country, and abounding in cultivation; with a considerable portion of good pasture land, and *innumerable date groves*. The immense herds of cattle these people possess, enables them to export large quantities of ghee."— M. S. J. 146. [Conf. 2d Inscription ap. Schultens.]

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐩱𐩣𐩧𐩺·𐩱𐩤··𐩱. — اروي انو سحلة, (*à rad.* روي, Rui, سحل, Sahal) Montana capra, et parvi lepores.

𐩧𐩺 𐩣𐩤. — يباب خوي, (Iba Khu, Ibab Khui) Deserta terra. Terræ tractus æquabilis planusque.

𐩣𐩤𐩥. — اري, (Rir, Ari) *i. q.* احية, Funis... qua constrictum loco tenetur jumentum. Et fere extremitas funis in *laqueum* nectitur, laxari et constringi aptum, quo vinctus tenetur pes jumenti. Ipse ille *laqueus.* [By the Adite poet, the term is manifestly employed to denote, not the picket of a horse, but "the snare of the hunter."]

𐩱𐩣𐩱𐩨𐩧. — خزران, *à rad.* خزر, (Khazran) Radices arundinis fartæ Indicæ, quæ longè latèque serpunt: sunt flexiles, vasculis contexendis idoneæ. ... *Hasta. Ea quæ et* قناة, *Kanâton dicitur,* ex illo arundinis fartæ genere confecta.

𐩱𐩱𐩥𐩦. — عار, (Âirau, Âur) Cepit, abstulit, perdidit. عورة, (Âurat) Locus insidiarum. — Apparuit, apertumque obtulit latus alteri, et petendi copiam fecit, *præda.* [Shark-fishery, allusion to?]

𐩵𐩤𐩣𐩨. — ازي, (Zana, Azi) Circumvenire studuit, circumvenit, dolum struxit.

𐩵𐩮𐩱. — اربيان, *à rad.* ربا *vel* ارب, (Reba, Arb) Nomen *piscis.* Pisciculus quidam albus, vermis instar, Basræ frequens. *Scil.* squilla: *vel* locusta marina.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

صيد البر, Venationem terræ.

بر, Terra. [يباب, *i. q.* خراب, Deserta terra; *pro quo et* خراب يباب, *conjunctè dicitur.* — *Ca.* [So the Hamyaritic phrase.]

حبل, بالحبل, Funis, chorda, vinculum. حابل, Retia tendens. حبالة, Rete.

قناة, والقنا, *pl.* قنا, Canna et Hasta.

طورا, [Errat. pro عورا,—the term used in the original? A lapse like this might be expected occasionally in the Leyden MS., which was *certainly* written by a Persian, nearly ignorant of Arabic.]

صاد, *à* نصد, Venatus fuit. Cepit illi prædam. مصيد, Instrumentum quo venamur. *Pec.* Rete.

النون, Pisces.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

Line 5.

𐩣𐩱. — *à rad.* سعي, (Sâ, Sâi) Incessit, ambulavit.

𐩵𐩺𐩲. — زبا, (Zebem, Zeba) Lentus incessus, *et* Superbia.

𐩠𐩬, In.

𐩧𐩫𐩺. — بشك, (Bashkhu, Bashk) Rarioribus dissitisque suturis consuit vestem.

𐩵𐩺𐩸𐩣. — اشراب, *à rad.* شرب, (Sharb) Color alteri permistus.

𐩧𐩵𐩸𐩱. — سرق, (Sark) Panni serici.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

من لجبج البحر, E gurgitibus maris. [Addition by the Arabic translator: no equivalent word in the original: thrown in to round the couplet; as Pope has done by Homer. Schultens, here, has mistaken one word in the Leyden MS. The words are من يجبج البحر. Ex *aquâ salsa* maris. يجبج, *à rad.* اج, Salsa fuit aqua.]

Couplet 5.

نرفل, *à rad.* رفل, Jactatis manibus, *aut* jactato corpore, incessit, ambulavit,

ut superbi solent.

في, In.

خز, Sericum netum grossiusque. Bombycum enim folliculi, à papilionibus perrupti, plusculùm coquuntur cum sapone, emollitique et cohærentes, à mulieribus in fila ducuntur fuso. *Item* Pannus ex eo serico contextus.

مرقم, *à* رقم, Species striatæ pictæque vestis.

تازه,* *pro* توزي, Sindones Arabicæ genus. *Vel pro* مطير, Avium figuris picta vestis.

* By this word, the Arabic translator defines *the kind of coloured robe* intended in the original. Schultens reads تارة: probably an error of the press, as his rendering is correct.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐤆𐤉𐤇. — *pro* قز, (Zakh, Khaz). [See in opposite page.]

𐤇𐤁. — خب, خبة, (Khab) Stria arenæ, nubis. *Aut* pars longior tenuiorque panni. خبايب, Vestis concisa.

𐤉𐤀𐤑. — أَبّ, (Jab, Ab) Gramen, seu pabulum quodcunque virens. أُبّ, *pl. à sing.* أَبّ, Gramina, virentia pabula.

𐤁𐤔𐤑. — وشح, (Isha, Washa) Indutus veste. *Vel* وشي, Coloravit pinxitve pannum. Color et pictura vestis.

𐤌𐤓𐤍. — مرن, معارن, (Meran) Indumentum, vestis.*

Line 6.

𐤀𐤍. — انا, (Nu, Ana) Nobis.

𐤎𐤉𐤈𐤓𐤍𐤀. — سيطرنا, præerant: *à rad.* سطر, (Sitarnu) Præfuit rei ut inspector. مسيطر, Præfectus et inspector rei.

𐤄𐤎𐤓𐤀. — حصير, (Hasiru, Hasir) Reges, Rex: quod velo obtento quasi disclusus: *à rad.* حصر, Arcte circumdedit.

* Εἰσάγεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν [τὴν Κανὴν] ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς, καὶ κοινὸς, καὶ ἁπλοῦς, καὶ ὁ νόθος περισσότερος. — Arrian, pp. 15, 16.

Col. II.— *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

قز, Sericum. *Pec.* è folliculis factum, è quibus eruperint bombycum papiliones.

احيانا, *à rad.* حنا, Tinxit cypro herbâ, ejusve pulvere. *Vel à* حوّة, Viridis seu cæruleus color ad nigrorem vergens: *unde* احووا, colore, حوّة, præditum esse.

خضر, Viruit arvum. Viridem effecit. Viridis fuit. Pabulum virens. خضاري, Virens, arvum seu seges.

حلل, Vestes striatæ, ex Arabia felice afferri solitæ.*

Couplet 6.

Nobis [subintell.]

يلينا, Præerant nobis, *à* ولي, Præfuit. Administravit rexitque urbem, Præfectus. مولي, Rex, princeps.

ملوك, Reges.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐩵𐩺. — تاز, (Tiz) *i. q.* تقلع, Dimotus fuit, in incessu. Dimotus fuit aversusque, à negotio &c. Desiit, recessit ab eo. مقلوع, *i. q.* معزال, Qui seorsim ab aliis secedit abitque. *Pec.* ad *fugiendos malos.*

𐩱𐩣. — او, (Iu, Au) Immo.

𐩲𐩣𐩨. — عبير, (Mebir) *à rad.* بار, Ignavus, perditus, corruptusque fuit. بور, Homo perditus et nequam.

𐩱𐩲𐩵𐩺. — ساسنا, (Saznu, Sasna) *à rad.* ساس, (Sas) Rexit pro arbitrio gregem, subditosve. Administravit. Castigando subegit. Præfuit ut dominus, rector, vel administrator.

𐩣𐩧𐩺 𐩱 𐩣𐩺𐩲. — نطخ و صمي, (Natak wa Sami), *à voc.* نطخ شر, Auctor mali, scelestus: *et* صمي, Occubuit, quo loco petita fuit præda (Psalm xvii. 11, 12. conf.), Petivit et occidit quo loco vidisset prædam. صميان, Insultus; assultus, *et* Fortis, audax.

𐩨𐩱𐩲. — زنم, (Zanum) Notâ insignivit.

𐩲𐩲𐩸. — هنر, (Hanarn, Hanar) *Pers.* Science, knowledge (and hence, doctrine). — See Richardson's Arab. and Pers. Dict.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

يبعدون, Remotissimi, *à* بعد, Distitit, longius abfuit. بعيد, *pl.* بعد, Longe remotus, distans. Longinquus et alienior ab alicujus cognatione vel affinitate.

عن الخنا, à turpitudine. *À rad.* خنا, Obscœnus fœdusque fuit, in sermone. Male turpiterque locutus fuit. Obscœnitas, fœditas sermonis.

شديد, Vehementes, duri. *À rad.* شد, Incurrit in prælio, impetum faciens in hostem. Constrinxit, ligavit. Stabilivit, firmavit Regnum. Durior vehementiorque fuit alicui, et cum aliquo. Vehementius prehendit, eove certavit.

علي اهل, In populos.

الخيانة والغدر, Fraudi et perfidiæ deditos. *À voc.* خون, Decepit, perfidus fuit. *Unde* خاين, خاينة, Deceptor, infidus, perfidus, dolosus; *et à voc.* غدر Perfidè egit, fefellit. Prodidit. Perfidia, fraus, dolus.

يقيم, Sanciebant, *à* قام, Rectè constituit disposuitque. Constituit, stabilivit.

لنا, Nobis.

من دين, de religione. *À rad.* دان. دين, Ritus, consuetudo, mores. Religio, *pec.* vera. Decretum. دنونة, Judicium.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐤄I. — اود, (Hûd) Heber.

Line 7.

𐤍I𐤌𐤍. — نيم, (Inum, Nim) *i. q.* نعمة, *seu pro eo,* Bonum omne et commodum vitæ. *A* نعم, Bene fecit, bonis et beneficiis donavit Deus.

I𐤇𐤊I. — (Akhusa, vel akhuta) قط, (Khat) Liber, libellus. *Et hinc i. q.* صك, Sententia judicis *scripto* mandata. *Vel* قصة, *pl.* قصص, Historia. Res gesta, *pec. conscriptum. A rad.* قص, Exposuit, narravit.

𐤆𐤁. — زب, (Zeb) *à rad.* زبا, *i. q.* حمل, Portandum, sustinendum, suscepit. Sustulit. Onus imposuit. Oneravit. Fecit, petiit, jussitve, ut portaret onus.

𐤅𐤓𐤍 𐤔𐤓𐤊 I. — و رن شرك, (Wa ran sharkh) *à* رن, Vocem edidit, vociferavit, et شرك, Socios consortesve addidit Deo; atque ita credidit in Deum.

𐤃𐤓𐤊oo I oo. — دَرَك, (Dark) Reparavit, resarcivit. Restauravit. دارکة, Comprehensiva potentia.

𐤌𐤔𐤓𐤇oo I oo. — مشرق, (Mesharkh) *à rad.* شرق, Ortus fuit sol. Ortus solis.

𐤍𐤇𐤓oo I oo. — منخر, Nasus, *seu potius* foramen nasus. منخار, (Munchar) E naribus spirans. *A rad.* نخر, Sonum emisit, spiritumve cum sono duxit per nares.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

هود, Hûd, Heber.

Couplet 7.

شرايعا, Vias rectas. *À* شرع, Legem tulit illis, et præscripsit Deus. Via recta. Lex. Canon religionis.

و نومن, Et fidem habebamus, (*à rad.* امن, Credidit in Deum.)

بالايات, Miraculis, (*à rad:* اية, Signum, miraculum.)

و البعث, et Resurrectioni, (*i. q.* اهب, Excitavit è somno. Resuscitavit mortuum.) يوم البعث, Dies Resurrectionis,

و النشر, et Vitæ futuræ. نشر, Revixit mortuus. Renituit vere terra. Vivificavit, resuscitavit, in vitam reduxit, Deus.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐩣𐩧. — خبا, (Khaba) Occultatus, occultus fuit, latuit. خب, Res occulta et abscondita.*

Line 8.

𐩱𐩧. — سطا, (Sata) Impetum fecit. Dominatus fuit. Cum vi insultavit.

𐩲𐩱𐩧. — قس, (Khas) Petivit, quæsivit. Prosecutus, sectatus fuit.

𐩣𐩵𐩨. — وزب, (Wazab) Astutus vel fraudulentus fur, vel latro.

𐩱𐩵𐩺𐩧 I. — شرز, (Sharzs) Conjecit eum in mala. Certavit, litigavit. Inimicitias, et malignum inter se animum gesserant. Malignus fuit. Vide شرس.

𐩲𐩵𐩨. — وزي, (Wazn, *pl. ex* Wazi) Congregatus, collectus fuit: in unum convenit.

𐩩𐩫𐩧. — شايح, (Shih) Diligentiam et studium posuit in negotio. Diligens. Zelotes.

* Of the magnificent poetry, and sublime confession of faith, comprized in the latter part of the seventh line, Professor Roediger's rendering is: —"Wie er ihm lohnte seine Uebelthat, und seine Gesinnung, und seinen Trug, und seine Verleumdung." (Versuch, p. 24.) — "And he

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

Couplet 8.

وحل, Pervadendo lutum certavit cum alio. Conjecit in lutum. Gravavit, afflixit malo.

يريدنا, à ورد, Ingressus fuit, descendit. Accessit, advenit. Accessione sua invasit.

ارضنا, In terram nostram.

عدو, Hostes. Homines inimici, peregrini.

برزنا جميعا, Exivimus congregati. À برز, Exivit, *pec.* in apertum campum. Prodiit adversus alium, descendit in arenam. Pugnavit: et جمع, Collegit, congregavit. جميع, Exercitus.

recompensed to him his crime, and his [ill] intention, and his imposture, and his calumny." (!) — This one specimen reveals our prospect of interpretation, had not Schultens unconsciously interposed to supply it.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐪗𐪘𐪉 I. — بزع, (Bezâ) et Juventus nostra. بزع, Elegans et politis moribus juvenis. بزيع, Juvenis ingeniosus et solers.

𐪉𐪗. — خا, (Khu) Festinavit, properavit. Cito et properanter in antecessum cepit.

𐪁𐪄𐪄. — شصا, (Shasa) Obriguit, fixusque fuit.

𐪊𐪄 I. — شبا, (Shaba) Extremitas acuminata, cuspis.

𐪆𐪗𐪘. — زَاعِيّ, (Zân, Zaâin) *à rad.* زعي, Epitheton hastæ, cuspidisve ejus. Sive ab urbe aliqua, sive a viro: vel [the true derivation] à motu et impulsu. زعب, Pepulit, trusit, propulsavit ab eo.

𐪇𐪂𐪖I. — وهق, (Wahak) Eundo et progrediendo certavit. Simul progressi sunt, et æquali passu in itinere incesserunt, comites simul equitantes.

Line 9.

𐪄𐪘𐪁𐪆𐪗. — خنزوة, (Khanuzet, Khanzut) Superbia, fastus. خنزوات, Fastuosus, superbus.

𐪊𐪁𐪘𐪂. — ازيب, (Azïb) Celeri transitu et cursu. زبا, Irruit in eum [hostem scil.] aliquo cum malo.

𐪋𐪂𐪋. — آم *pro* المم, (Maim, Amam) *i. q.* قارب, Propinquus fuit. Propinquitas generis. Propinquitas uterina.

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

بالمشقفة, Acuminatis. (*A rad.* شقف, Rectam reddidit distortam hastam, polluit *acumine*. *Acutus*.)

السمر, Hastis. لسمر, *pl.* سمر, Fuscus, musteline colore, et *pec.* اسمران, Aqua et *hasta*, et أسمر, Hasta.

نحامي, Protectantes, defensantes. *A* حمي, Præsidio custodivit, tuitus fuit contra malum. حامٍ, Protector. Defensor.

Couplet 9.

علي لولادنا, Pro liberis.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

𐩱𐩧𐩺𐩨 I. — شبر, (Shebr) Jus matrimonii. [*Et hinc,* Uxores.]

𐩨𐩨𐩣. — مرس, (Mars) Validè pugnavit.

𐩣𐩧𐩣𐩺. — بامامة, (Bamamat) Super equos. *À* [عزم] ام, Equus. امة, Quodlibet animalium genus, ab aliis distinctum. امامة, Centum camelorum [*vel* equorum] turma. — ب, Particula inseparab, — *i. q.* علي, Super.

𐩧𐩵. — شق, (Shak) Longus equus.

𐩺𐩣. — رب, (Reb) Nubes alba: *aut* quæ *modo alba, modo nigra* apparet.

𐩲𐩧𐩣𐩵𐩧 I. — شهب, (Shebmin, Sheheb) Cinereo colore fuit. Bicolor fuit, præcellente albedine. اشهب, Equus.

𐩣𐩺𐩧𐩵 I. — اشباني, (Shibzu, Ashbani) Rubicundus, valde ruber.

Line 10.

𐩺𐩺𐩧. — ذب, (Idzab, Dzab) Propulit, abegit. Terruit.

𐩮𐩣. — ان, (An) Equidem.

𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩺. — برخنا, (Barakhna) Gladiis nostris. *À* ب, Cum, *particula inseparab.*, et رقرق (*à* رق), Multum

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

و نساينا, Atque uxoribus.

المعانيق, Equis longicollium. معناق, *pl.* معانيق, Egregio collo equus.

الكميت, *Ex nigro rufus* seu spadiceus equus. كمتة, Color τοῦ كميت. *Gi.* Rubor, rufusve color obscurior, seu *ad nigrum* vergens.

الشهب, Cinereis.

و الشقر, et rufis. شقرة, Rubedo clara et nitens: in equis, cùm juba et cauda ejusdem quoque coloris sunt.

Couplet 10.

نقارح, Contundentes. *À* قرح, Vulneravit.

باسيافنا, Gladiis nostris.

Col. I. — *Words of ten-line Inscription, with their definitions from Golius.*

fulgens formiculata facie *ensis.* *Vel à* برخ, Ictus gladii ejusmodi, quo resecatur pars carnis.

𐩵𐩣. — زر, (Zar) Acies gladii.

𐩣𐩹𐩺. — شزن, (Shaz, Shazn) Opposuit se alteri, contrave surrexit, in litigio.

𐩱𐩡. — او, (Au) Donec.

𐩡𐩱𐩣. — سام, (Saum) Misit, emisit equos. Excursionem fecit in hostem. Intulit noxam, damnum dedit.

𐩡𐩧𐩺. — شقا, (Shaka) Vicit eum.

𐩹𐩵𐩱 𐩱. — دیخ, *i. q.* دوخ, (Daukh) Subjugavit. Subegit regionem. Domuit.

𐩡𐩧. — خم, (Khem) خمام, Purgamentum populi. Deteriores hominum.

NOTE.

In another place (Vol. II. pp. 86, 87. note), and before I had it in my power to collate the translation with the original, I ventured to throw out the probability, that, in the Arabic poem (which is evidently in the idiom of the north, and apparently of a late period), we have

Col. II. — *Synonymes of the Arabic Version.*

من يبغي علينا, Qui ferox contra nos. ويعتدي, hostisque insurgeret. *À* بغا, Insultavit alteri, injustum et violentum se gessit; et عدا, Iniquus, injustus, infestus, in eum fuit.

حتي, Donec.

يولون الدبر, Terga nobis darent.

but the version of a version; the first translation, in the Arabic of the seventh century, being modernized to suit the taste of the thirteenth. The result of the present analysis suggests a somewhat different, and far more interesting, conjecture: — namely, that copies of the inscriptions themselves (probably in Cufic characters) were made by order of Abderrahman, the

Caliph's Lieutenant, for the use of Moawiyah; that these documents, conformably with the known usage of the Saracens, were deposited in the Treasury of Damascus; and that from them, in after times, were made the translations published by Schultens. The marks of *direct* rendering from the original, with which the Arabic version of the ten-line inscription abounds, on the one hand strongly sanctions such an inference; while, on the other hand, this conjecture perfectly accounts for whatever may be imagined northern in the idiom, or modern in the style, of the two translations published in the "Monumenta."

WORDS

OF THE

THREE-LINE HASAN GHORAB INSCRIPTION,

IN HAMYARITIC AND ARABIC,

WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS FROM GOLIUS.

Line 1.

𐩣𐩺𐩣. —ميار, (Miar) Inimicitia, *à rad.* مار, Excitavit inter eos inimicitias.

𐩵𐩬𐩺. —موزور, (Muzur) Criminis reus, qui delictum commisit. *A rad.* وزر, Commisit subiitve crimen, peccavit.

Line 2.

𐩡𐩺𐩣. — ناش, (Naush) Propiùs accessit hostem. Aggressus et adortus fuit adversarium in pugna.

𐩺𐩵𐩡. — صمي, (Samu, Sami) Mordens in freno perrexit equus. Effusus in eum fuit.

Line 3.

𐩵𐩵𐩡. — سموي, (Sami, Samui) Equus.

𐩲𐩵𐩡. — سنب, (Samb *pro* Sanb) Equus multum currens. [So, for "سمبل, see سنبل."—*Richardson.*]

WORDS

OF THE

TWO-LINE HASAN GHORAB INSCRIPTION,

IN HAMYARITIC AND ARABIC,

WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS FROM GOLIUS.

Line 1.

𐩱𐩣𐩺. — سرم, (Sarm) In partes, et minutatim concidit.

𐩱𐩵𐩧𐩺. — شزر, (Shazir) Dextrorsum et sinistrorsum convertit manum: à dextra parte, sive ab externa ad internam.

𐩱𐩥𐩧. — زنم, (Zanem) Notâ insignivit.

𐩱𐩥𐩣𐩫. — رنم et رنيم, (Ranem) Cantus lususque musicus, jubilatio. *Gi. Ca.* رنم, *pl. τοῦ* رنيم, Cantiones egregiæ, Psalmi.

𐩮𐩣𐩺. — سرش, (Sarash). [Nom. propr. viri.]

𐩹𐩣𐩧𐩧. — ذزرآ, (Dzerah). [Nom. propr. viri.]

Line 2.

𐩧𐩱. — خز, (Khaz) Transfodit, confixitque, ac velut consuit *telo.*

𐩣𐩱𐩧. — قنص, (Khanas) *i. q.* صاد, Venando cepit. قنص, *i. q.* قنس, Præda venatu capta.

𐩦𐩣𐩲. — سخم, (Sakhem) Nigrum fecit vultum ejus Deus.

𐩲𐩱. — اوس, *vel* عوس, *Heb.* עוּץ, (Aws) Nomen tribus Arabiæ felicis. [*i. q.* عاد, Ad.]

𐩣𐩱 𐩵𐩱𐩲𐩱. — ابنوم عكّ, (Ibnum Âc.) ابنم, *i. q.* ابن, *cum* م *servili,* Filius. *Gi.* 𐩣𐩱, *i. q.* عكّ *vel* بنو عكّ (*Accenses*). — Conf. Poc. Spec. p. 46.

NOTE.

The attempts of the Ishmaelites to penetrate to the southern coast appear by no means to have terminated with this unsuccessful invasion of Aws by the Beni Âc. The Ishmaelite names, of Nakab el Hajar, "The Pass of Hagar," and of its founder, Abu Mohâreb, a prince, apparently, of the race of Koreish and Adnân, significantly indicate the origin and object of that formidable fortress; which afterwards fell into the hands of the Homerites, and was restored and enlarged by their king, Charibaël.

WORDS

OF

THE INSCRIPTION WITHIN THE ENTRANCE

TO

NAKAB EL HAJAR,

IN HAMYARITIC AND ARABIC, WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS FROM GOLIUS.

Line 1.

ﻫﺎﺍﻱ. — باض, *Act.* بوض, (Bautz) Constitit et affixus mansit loco.

ﻫﻭﻝ. — رحل, (Rahal) Mansio.

ﺍﺑﻭ ﻣﺣﺭﺏ. — اب مجرب, (Abu Mohâreb.) [Nom. prop. viri, *pec.* filii Fehr *vel* Koreish.]

ﺑﻫﻧﺔ. — بحنة, (Behenah) Nomen proprium mulieris. *Gi.*

ﻭﺍ. — ورا, (War, Wara) Quod antè est.

ﻟﺻ. — لص, (Las) Coagmentavit, compegit, ferruminavit, *structuram.*

ﻟﺏ. — لب, (Lab) Substitit mansit*que aliquo loco, ei* inhærens.

ﺍﻧﻕ. — انق, (Anku) Lætitia et gaudium. Placuit et delectavit res.

𐩱𐩲. — برر, *Act.* بر, (Bir) Pium et morigerum se gessit *erga parentes.*

𐩮𐩨𐩵. — نواس, (Nowas). [Nom. propr. viri. *Sicut* Dzu Nowas, rex ult. è stirpe Reg. Himjarit.]

𐩨𐩣𐩮 𐩨. — و ونبا, (Wanba) Nom. propr. viri. This proper name recurs in one of the inscriptions found by Mr. Cruttenden, at Sanaa, which are all, very evidently, tables of genealogies.]

𐩵𐩲𐩣𐩧. — زبان, (Zeban) Satelles seu minister prætorianus.

𐩧𐩧𐩵𐩣𐩲. — Χαριβαὴλ (Charibaël*), *ἔνθεσμος βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν δύο, τοῦ τε Ὁμηρίτου, καὶ τοῦ παρακειμένου λεγομένου Σαβαείτου· συνεχέσι πρεσβείαις, καὶ δώροις, φιλος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων.*—Arrian, ap. Huds. p. 13.

𐩺𐩵𐩣. — صحب, (Saheb) Dominus.

𐩠𐩱𐩨𐩲. — قورا, (Khaur) Ampla domus.

Line 2.

𐩱𐩱𐩱𐩺. — بار, (Bair, bar) Benefaciens, beneficus. *Est τοῦ* برر.

* The name borne by this Homerite prince would seem to be an appellative, derived from his reputed piety. For *Charibaël* seems a compound from "قرب (*Charib*), Aditum affectavit, accessit *ad Deum, eumve* propitiare sibi studuit, *victimâ*," and "بهل (*Bahal*), Supplex fuit gemuitque *in oratione.*" The appellative is in character with the builder of the Oratory of Nakab el Hajar.

ለሐ. — لَصَّ, (Lasa) *i. q.* رَصَّصَ, *aut pro eo,* Coagmentavit, compegit, ferruminavit, *structuram.*

ለየ. — با, (Bi, ba, *vel* bu) In mansione vel hospitio locavit. Paravit hospitium vel mansionem, in eamve recepit, atque ibi locavit. باة, *pro* مباة, Mansio, hospitium. بيية, Mansio, *pec.* præbita alicui. مباة, Diversorium, mansio hominum.

ሠፈሐ. — شَرَبَ, (Sharban) Putei circa arbores, unde rigantur. شربة, Puteolus circum arboris radicem, ex quo rigatur.

ሐሐ. — صلاة, (Sal, Salat) Locus precationis. مصلي, Oratorium, locus precationis.

ዘ7. — روا, (Rua) Dulcis et salubris aqua. ريـة, Aquæ abundans *fons.* *À rad.* روي.

ገበ. — حار, (Hur, Hir) Confluxit aqua. Impletus aquâ fuit locus. حاير, Confluxus aquæ, locus quo confluxit.

ሰከ. — لَصَ, (Lasa) Coagmentavit, compegit, ferruminavit, structuram.

ነዘዘ. — زنانا, (Zen, Zenana, *Pers.*) "The women's apartments." — *Richardson.*

ዘተተፈነ. — ارخة, (Airkha, Arkhat) Tempus designatum, quando scriptum aliquid vel factum: æra, epocha.

MARBLE DUG UP AT ADEN,

SEPTEMBER, 1842.

WORDS OF THE INSCRIPTION IN HAMYARITIC AND ARABIC, WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS FROM GOLIUS.

אנש. — نيش, *à rad.* ناش, (Naush) Propiùs accessit hostem. Aggressus et adortus fuit adversarium in pugnâ. Appropinquarunt inter se, invicem aggressi sunt hostes.

נאש. — صاح, (Sih) Clamavit, exclamavit. Ad alium clamavit, exclamavit. Clamarunt ad invicem.

אחנ. — وحسن, i. q. احسن, (Wahen) Iratus fuit. Odit.... Inimicus et malevolus fuit vel evasit. Inimicitias gessit.

נהנ. — يحصب, (Ihhab, vel Ihab) [*Contractè pro*] حبش, احبش, *pl.* حبشان, *et* احابش, Habassini, Æthiopes.

ברברי. — البربر, (Berber) *et quasi pl.* البرابرة, *ac sine* ة. Barbari proprie dicti; Africani sede, Philistæi origine. *Unde Gentile et possess. nomen* بربري, Barbarus. *Gi. Et* البربرية, Illa Africæ pars, *vulgo* Barbaria.

ם

ሐክ. — حق, (Ihak, Hak) Adversarius hostisque fuit. Inter se contenderunt, et inimicitiam gesserunt. *Vel* وهق, (Wahak) Eundo et progrediendo certavit. Simul progressi sunt, et æquali passu in itinere incesserunt, comites simul equitantes.

ወሐነ. — وحنا, (Wahen) *vide suprà.*

ሐነሰ. — ناس, (Naus) Homines.

ሐኽሽ. — وخش, (Wakhash) Fæx hominum.

No. VI.

SUPPLEMENT,

GROUNDED ON COLLATION OF THE "CARMINA ANTIQUISSIMA" IN SCHULTENS, WITH THE LEYDEN MS. OF AL-KAZWÎNÎ, No. 512., pp. 56, 57., FROM WHICH THEY WERE PUBLISHED IN HIS "MONUMENTA."

NOTWITHSTANDING my just solicitude, upon a question so interesting in itself and so pregnant in its consequences, to omit no kind of test, which promised to complete the identification of the ten-couplet poem of the "Monumenta" with the ten-line inscription at Hisn Ghoráb, as translation and original,—it was only in the last stage before publication, when proofs of the Alphabet and Glossary had been already returned from the press, that the thought happily occurred to me of throwing myself upon the literary courtesy of the University of Leyden, for a fresh collation, and corrected copy, of the two Arabic poems, which Schultens informs us he took from the Leyden MS. of a work entitled "Kitab al Belad, wa Akbar al Abad, Liber Regionum cum Historiis hominum." With some faint hope of gain-

ing further light, I ventured to add a request for a copy of the context. Both requests have been met with a zeal and promptness, which prove that the spirit of her own Golius still lives in that celebrated seat of learning. From Professor Geel (chief Librarian), and from Mr. Dozy, (assistant to Professor Weyers, whose serious indisposition will be subject of regret to every Orientalist,) I have experienced the most cordial co-operation. The return which these gentlemen will most appreciate, it is happily in my power to make, by stating that the results have surpassed my most sanguine anticipations.

The "Kitab atsar al Belad," &c. (Leyden MS. No. 512.), the historical compilation from which Schultens borrowed the two poems in question, and of whose author he appears to have been unaware, is a work (as I learn from Mr. Dozy, and find on reference to d'Herbelot) *not* by Novaïri, but by an earlier and (as descendant of one of the companions of Mahomet) perhaps a still higher authority, "the celebrated Al-Kazwînî."

Mr. Dozy's "nearly facsimile transcript" of pp. 56, 57., which contain the two poems with their contexts, supplies the following new and decisive facts:—

1. The first poem, which, in every way beside, has been already identified with the long inscrip-

tion at Hisn Ghoráb, stands in the MS., *not*, as Schultens gives it, *in ten couplets*, but, like its original, *in ten lines*. The form of the couplet, adopted, in the "Monumenta," for both poems, instead of being, as I had supposed, a refinement of the Arab translator, turns out to be merely a contrivance of Schultens himself, evidently for the convenience of printing. At the same time, a double horizontal line in the middle of the first line of the inscription, in the MS., authorizes, as it not improbably suggested, the adoption of a subdivision.

2. In Schultens' published transcript (which must have been made very hastily) several words are pretermitted, and characters, and consequently the sense, in several others, are mistaken: — while in the ten-line inscription, in every example, the omitted or mistaken word brings out more perfectly the correspondence between the Aditic original and its Arabic version.

3. The context of the ten-line poem consists of a prefatory notice (purporting to be taken from the account of Abderrahman himself) of the site, and of the main features of the locality where it was discovered, — corresponding most exactly, point for point, with Mr. Wellsted's account of the locality and site of the Hisn Ghoráb inscriptions: so much so, indeed, that, were the two

descriptions to change places, they would be equally in point.

4. The context of the Leyden MS., p. 57., between the two poems, being a preliminary notice (also from the official account of Abderrahman) of the second, lets in light for the recovery of that still undiscovered inscription, which we should seek in vain in the vague and general statements of Schultens, in his heading, and his final note: statements, from which it is impossible to gather the distance of either inscription from Aden; the distance of the second from the first; or even whether they were found amidst the same, or in different and distant ruins. Yet is all this information (so essential to any prospect of its recovery) comprized in the brief notice with which, in the Leyden MS., the second, or seven-line inscription is introduced. So exact, in truth, is the description, that it points, not only to the castle, but to the very side of it, the wall, the gateway, the great stone over it, on which the inscription was found. The whole internal evidences correspond so exactly with the site of the castle of Mesenaat, a massive ruin upon the southern coast, in long. 50° 45′ 23″ E., 155 miles from Hisn Ghorâb, that, for myself, I can entertain little doubt, that the original of the seven-line inscription was found by Abderrahman, and

may possibly still be found, carved on a stone of great size, over the southern gateway, either of the body or the out-works, of that majestic strength.

On the other side (pp. 448, 449.) will be seen an exact representation of the two inscriptions, with the notices by which they are prefaced, as they stand in the Leyden MS.: the only variations admitted being, the insertion and correction of the diacritic points, essential to the sense; the insertion, between brackets, of two words abridged, and of two more corrupted, by the Persian copyist *; and sufficient spacing between the prefatory notices and the inscriptions, to present them distinctly to the eye.

* Schultens' report ("Monumenta," p. 71. note) of the minor incorrectnesses of the MS. is fully confirmed by Mr. Dozy; who rightly accounts for them, from its being the work of a Persian transcriber. "Our MS. of Al-Kazwînî is evidently written by a Persian, for the copyist's ignorance of Arabic is to be seen in every line; and besides, the handwriting itself, though neskhi, approaches slightly to nestalik. At the end of the volume I find no note, stating the year when the copy has been written. I suppose it, however, copied four centuries ago. — My transcript is faithful, almost approaching to facsimile; I have transcribed all the vowels and diacritical points, as they occur in the manuscript, though a great number of them are decidedly errors; I have omitted them, where I found them omitted; I have retained, also, the gross blunders against Arabic grammar, and against the sense of the phrase; so I hope I have observed your desire to have the passage *without any corrections*. Corrections, however, will be easily and safely made, as Al-Kazwînî is not at all a difficult writer."

كتاب اثار البلاد واخبار العبار

(LEYDEN MS. No. 512. pp. 56, 57.)

وبها القصران من قصور عاد ولما بعث معويه عبد
الرحمن بن الحكم الي اليمن وليا بلغة ان بساحل عدن
قصران من قصور عاد وان في بحرها كنزا فطمع فيه
وذهب في ماية فارس [فراسخ] الي ساحل عدن الي قرب القصرين [القصوين]
فراي ما حولها من الارض سباخا بها ابار الابار وراي
قصرا مبنيا بالصخر والكلس [الكلأن] وعلي بعض انوابه صخرة
عظيمة ينضا مكتوب عليها شعر*

غنينا زمانا في عراصة ذا القصر = بعيش رخي غير صنك ولا نزر
يفيض علينا البحر بالمد زاخرا وانهارنا بالماء مبزعة يجر
خلال نخيل باسقات نوطرها نف بالقسب المجرع والتمر
ونصطاد صيد البر بالخيل والقنا وطور انصيد النور [النون] من يجبج البحر
ونرفل في الخزا المرقم تارة وفي القز احيانا وفي الخلل الخضر
يلينا ملوك يبعدون عن الخنا شديد علي اهل الخيانة والغدر
يقيم لنا من دين هود شرايعا ونومن بآلايات والبعث والنسر
اذا ما عدو احل ارضنا يريدنا برزنا جميعا بالمتقفة السمر
نحامي علي اولادنا ونسابنا علي الشهب والكميت المعانيق والشقر
يقارح من يبغي علينا ويعتدي باسيافنا حتي يولون بالدبر

* "And in that region are two castles, of the castles of Ad. And when Moawiyah sent Abderrahman, the son of Al Hakem, into Yemen

ثم مضي الي القصر الاخر وسهما اربع [اربعون] فراسخ فراي حوله
ابار الحنان والبسا قال فدنوا يامن القصر فاذا هو من
حجرة وكلس علب عليها مآء البحر ورايينا على بابه صخرة عظيمة
علي مكتوب†

غنينا بهذا القصر دهرا فلم يكن لنا همة الا البلد ذو القطف
تروح علينا كل يوم هنيدة من الابل يعشق في معاطفها الطرف
واضعاف تلك الابل شاء كانها من الحسن ارام او البقر القطف
فعشنا بهذا القصر سبعة احقب باطيب عيش جل عن ذكرة الوصف
فهجات سنون مجدبات قواحل اذا ما مضي عام اتي اخر يقفو
فظلنا كان لم نعين في الخير لمحة فماتوا ولم يبق خف ولا ظلف
كذلك من لم يشكر الله لم يزل معالمه من بعد ساحته تعفو

as Viceroy, he arrived, on the shore of Aden [i. e. in a progress along the southern coast], at two castles, of the castles of Ad. (In that sea are treasure hidden and gold, for the space of a hundred parasangs [360 miles] along the shore of Aden, as far as to the neighbourhood of Kesuin.) He saw, also, the quality of the soil, whose saltness made the palms most fruitful. And he saw a castle, built upon the rock, and two ports; and, upon the ascent of the height, a great rock, partly washed away, on which was engraven a song —"

[Here follows, in the MS., the ten-line inscription.]

† "Then he proceeded to the other castle, distant four [forty] parasangs. He beheld its state, battered by winds and men. He says they approached the south side of the castle; when it proved of stone. And the waves of the sea had left violent vestiges upon it. And he saw over its gate a great stone, and engraven on it—"

[Here follows, in the MS., the seven-line inscription.]

REMARKS.

To begin with the sites of the two castles and inscriptions. From the first prefatory notice we gather, in the first place, the highly important facts (both unnoticed by Schultens), that they were discovered by Abderrahman in the course of an official progress of inspection along "the shore of Aden," undertaken to ascertain the character of the country, and the quality of the soil * (while he subdued or overawed, in his passage, the refractory tribes); and that by the phrase "Shore of Aden," we are to understand, not the parts immediately adjacent to that emporium, but the whole line of coast between Aden and Kesouin or Kesem, a space of full three hundred and sixty miles. Instead, consequently, with Schultens, of seeking the sites of the inscriptions "*prope* emporium Aden," we are left to seek them any where along the coast between Aden and the neighbourhood of Cape Fartaque, guided

* The official report of Abderrahman, not only notices, but *accounts for* the fertility of Hadramáut; especially for the extraordinary productiveness of its palm groves. Its fidelity is attested by Captain Haines' account of this province: — "The whole province of Hydramáut is represented as abundant in fertilization, and richly-covered hills; the towns and villages well populated; *the palm-groves magnificent;* plentiful supplies of water, and, indeed, every beauty and perfection necessary to make a paradise of this earth."— MS. Journal.

by the further lights afforded by the text of Al Kazwînî, and by its correspondence with the matter-of-fact discoveries by the officers of the Palinurus.

The first of the two castles, according to the official report of Abderrahman, was found seated upon the summit of a rocky headland, beneath which lay two ports; while the inscription was discovered on the steep ascent of the height between the castle and its harbours, carved upon the side of a great rain-worn rock. In every particular, this account tallies with Mr. Wellsted's description of the castle and inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb — its "lofty black-looking cliff" — its "square tower, of massive masonry, on the verge of the precipice" — "the circumstance of its possessing two harbours" — together with "the discovery of some inscriptions, on the smooth face of the rock to the right (parts of which had been washed away by the rains*), about one third the ascent from the top:" — a group of corresponding features, which could thus be brought together by two so wholly unconnected painters of the same localities, only from their belonging to

* "As there was a steep precipice on either hand, above and below us, we did not find, *in those places where the rains had washed part of it away*, a safe, or pleasant route." (ii. 424.) The ascent was found, it is plain, in the same ruined state, in A. D. 660—670, as in A. D. 1834.

one and the same scene. Whatever, in the brief prefatory notice of Al Kazwînî, may be wanting to fill up the likeness, is amply furnished, as the reader is already aware, by the ten-line inscription which follows it.

The second introductory notice of Al-Kazwînî though still briefer than his first,—owing to its note of the distance between the two Adite castles, and the Flemish minuteness of its sketch of the site and local circumstances of the second, —goes far to fix the sites of both. In the "Monumenta," on the contrary, so far are we from obtaining any, the most distant hint of such discrimination, that the two inscriptions might naturally be supposed to stand upon two buildings of the same strong-hold. This, at least, was my own impression of the second, until undeceived by the clear and decisive evidence of the Leyden manuscript itself.

Our first step towards gaining light as to the locality of the second castle, must clearly be, a careful consideration of the circumstances of the description, in the second prefatory notice. From this notice, it appears, 1. that Abderrahman, whose whole progress lay eastward from Aden, proceeded on from the site of the first castle, towards the east, to reach that of the second; 2. that the castle itself was distant from the first

(according to the Persian transcriber of Al-Kazwînî) اربع, *four*, but (as the survey of this coast proves) اربعون, *forty*, parasangs, or about 140 miles, *i. e.* that it lay close to Kesuin or Kesem, the term of the Viceroy's progress; 3. that it was seated, not, like the first, upon a rock, but upon the brink of the sea, whose waves (combining with the violence of the winds and of man) had left ruinous vestiges upon its time-worn walls; 4. that its principal front, with its gateway, over which was engraven the inscription, faced the south, and consequently looked towards the sea; 5. the massiveness of the gateway, and consequently that of the fortress (which is stated to have been built of stone), are clearly indicated by the fact, that the inscription, of seven long lines, was carved *upon a single stone* in the wall over the gate, while at Nakab el Ḥajar, on the contrary, a similar inscription *in two lines*, occupies *three large stones* over the entrance of that great fortress.

If the second castle be still in being, our best guide to its locality will be, a careful comparison of these circumstances with the now fully-ascertained features of the southern coast between Hisn Ghoráb and Kesem.

And here, to correct the distance between the castles, as given in the Leyden MS., is the point

of primary importance. This (unless on the inadmissible supposition, that, of so great a ruin, not a trace remains,) we are now effectually enabled to do from the laying-down of this coast in Captain Haines' chart; where every reach of it is analyzed and represented, down to the minutest features and objects. In this admirable survey, not a vestige of fort or castle of any kind is marked, for nearly eighty miles E. N. E. of Hisn Ghoráb. From this point (long. 49° 25′ 2″) we meet, successively, on the coast, the ruins of Sbehar and Kuriath, but no mention, in Captain Haines' MS. Journal, of a castle at either. — It follows, that the true reading of Al-Kazwînî cannot be اربع, *four* parasangs. Let us now try the result of the very slight literal emendation of اربع, *four*, into اربعون, *forty*. — E. N. E. of the ruins just noticed, in long. 49° 55′ 2″, and long. 50° 43′ 55″, are laid down two ruined castles, each on a great scale, bearing, in common, the name of Misenaut or Messenaat. And as both are situated close to the sea-shore, and both in the immediate neighbourhood of inland inscriptions (as we learn from Captain Haines' chart), they possess, respectively, probabilities in favour of one or other being the second Adite castle, with an inscription, seen by Abderrahman. The balance can be turned only

by comparison of the distances, the sites, and the positions of the two buildings. This comparison we are happily supplied with materials for in the MS. Journal of Captain Haines.

The following is his account of the first of these ruins: — "The anchorage of Dees has, apparently, been a spot of great importance: the fort of El Mesenaat bearing sufficient evidence of superior architecture (better in every respect) to the buildings of the present day. The dilapidated reservoirs, and several other edifices, although in perfect ruins, must have been the work of skilful artists." MS. Journal, p. 195.— On comparing this account of the ruin with its site and delineation in the map, we find, 1. that, instead of 140 miles (the distance required), it is barely 108 from Hisn Ghoráb; 2. that, instead of presenting its principal front, including the entrance, to the south and to the sea, this ruin stands in a lozenge form, with one of its four angle-towers, only, looking towards the sea; and, 3. that, in place of being situated, like the Adite fortress, close to the water's edge, it is seated upon a height, commanding the gorge of a pass into the country from the shore: all three circumstances being at variance with Al-Kazwînî's notice of the second Adite castle, taken avowedly from the report of Abderrahman.

We proceed, therefore, to examine the claims of the further, or second, Mesenaat. Captain Haines describes this striking ruin as follows, in his MS. Journal: — "*Messenaat*, an antique ruin on the coast, 12¾ miles E. of Rydah, in lat. 15° 3′ N., long. 50° 43′ 25″ E. Here is a beautiful spring of excellent water; but the land is swampy, and thinly bestudded with mangrove trees, which give it an air of quiet desolation. Originally, it has borne pretensions of a more formidable kind; as there still remain many relics of interest. *One antique ruin of dark stone* possesses, to this day, *great strength;* and was evidently intended to answer no unwarlike purpose. *We could not discover any stone of a similar kind, in the neighbourhood of the place.** I cannot help fancying, that the lagoons (now traceable) once formed its ports, or back-waters; and that a town of considerable consequence stood near, protected by the ruin alluded to. Upon inquiry, the fishermen informed us, that a number of coins, and various other curiosities, have been picked up at different times: amongst

* May not this circumstance — the non-existence of building-stone suited for such a fortress in the neighbourhood — explain the force of the expression فاذا هو من حجارة, "when it proved to be built of stone." This, in any ordinary case, would be an unmeaning truism. But it is full of significance, viewed as a cryptic reference to the dearth of proper building-stone on the spot, and to its costly transport.

them, a pair of scales, which were discovered beneath the walls of the fort." — Haines' MS. Journal, p. 102. — Upon reference to his chart, we find this once formidable ruin in the form of a parallelogram, standing, like that described by Abderrahman, lengthways facing the sea, on a low level, enclosed between two lagoons, (the remains, doubtless, as Captain Haines justly conjectures, of its two harbours,) close to the sea-shore, and presenting, consequently, as the Adite castle presented, a principal front to the south and to the sea; its distance from Hisn Ghoráb being exactly 155 miles.

While the massiveness of the structure here described strongly sanctions the presumption of its high antiquity, its exact agreement in character, location, and position, and its near approximation in distance from Hisn Ghoráb, (the difference, between the loose Arab computation of forty parasangs, and the scientific measurement of our survey, being only fifteen miles,)— these coincidences taken together, present an amount of probabilities, which, however short of identifying, without further inquiry, the ancient fortress at Mesenaat with the second of the two Adite ruined castles discovered by Abderrahman, should, at least, suffice to prompt fresh inquiry upon the spot, and further investigation

of this most interesting ruin, with the advantage of the fresh lights now in our possession.

Captain Haines, indeed, speaks of both the castles named Mesenaat, as though they had been visited by himself, or by his officers; but it is not clear from his Journal, that, like that at Hisn Ghoráb, either had been closely inspected. At the same time, it must be admitted, that so long an inscription, in so conspicuous a position, as the second described by Abderrahman, and preserved by Al-Kazwînî, was little likely to escape even the most cursory inspection of the ruins. But should this be so; and should no inscription exist, or ever have existed, over the southern gateway of the more eastern Mesenaat, to reward the researches of another Cruttenden, or another Wellsted,—there still remains open the question, whether the gateway spoken of by Abderrahman as containing above it the inscription, may not have been, not in the body of the building, but, *like that at Nakab el Hajar*, in the outer works? and whether the seven-line Adite inscription (so full of interest from its bearing on Scripture history) may not yet be sought and found among the ruins of the southern outworks? At the lowest, there is this new stimulus to fresh investigation, that the inquirer is no longer left to seek at random. For, at the least,

we now know thus much on the subject, — that the second of the two Adite castles lay east of Hisn Ghoráb; that it stood close to the sea, and level with it; and that the inscription stood on its southern side, on a single stone, over either its inner, or its outer, gateway.

No. VII.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE,

ON THE QUOTATION FROM NIEBUHR, ap. p. 385.

"A UNE petite distance S.S.E. de Madrasse, et à une petite demi-journée (ce qui fait ainsi 2 à 2 milles et ½ d'Allemagne) au S. O. de Jerim, étoit autrefois située, suivant le rapport de divers Arabes, une ville appellée *Dhafâr*, dont il ne reste, dit-on, cependant plus aucune maison. On y trouve pourtant, comme m'a assuré le Schech *el Belled* (magistrat de Jerim), *une grosse pierre avec une inscription, que ni les Juifs, ni les Mahométans, ne peuvent déchiffrer.* Ainsi cette place mériteroit, peut-être bien, la visite d'un Européen, qui vient dans ce pays. Car là apparemment étoit située la fameuse ville de Tdaphar, que les anciens Historiens disent avoir été la résidence des Hamjâriens; *et si jamais on peut parvenir à avoir des inscriptions Hamjâriennes, ce sera sans doute sous ces décombres.*"

"Le 15e de Juillet nous prîmes sur le Nord un peu Ouest, mais le chemin n'étoit pas si frayé que dans les journées précédentes. En partant de Suradsje nous fîmes 1 mille et ⅛ sur une montagne, et arrivâmes au village d'*Audi*, sur les frontières qui séparent le territoire de Suradsje, et le petit pays de *Chaulân*. A une petite distance de là est un village, nommé *Hoddâfa*, sur un rocher escarpé, *où l'on trouve*, dit-on, *encore, une inscription remarquable, sur*

un vieux mur. J'avois déjà appris à Táäs, qu'on voyoit une inscription Hébraique à Bellad anes. Car *comme les Mahométans n'en connoissent pas une seule lettre,* et qu'excepté le Kufique, et l'Arabe, peut-être n'ont ils entendu parler d'aucun autre alphabet, que de l'Hébraique, ils croyent ainsi, que cette inscription doit être écrite en cette langue. Nos chameliers et nos aniers m'avoient promis de me la faire voir; mais comme j'avois pris Bellad anes pour le nom d'un village, et que j'appris ce jour-là, que c'étoit le nom d'un district, je fis donc de plus amples informations auprès d'un natif du pays, et je sûs, que cette inscription étoit à Hoddafa. Mais nous avions déjà passé à une lieue et $\frac{1}{2}$ des environs de ce village, et nos chameliers et nos aniers me l'avoient caché à dessein, de peur d'être retardé dans leur voyage. J'ai ensuite appris à Saná, *par des Juifs,* qui avoient vu cette inscription plusieurs fois, *que les caractères n'en étoient point Hébraiques,* mais *qu'ils leur étoient aussi indéchiffrables qu'aux Mahométans.* Comme Hoddafa est situé *tout près du chemin de Mokhha à Saná,* je désirerois, qu'un Européen, qui voyageroit par-là, voulut se donner la peine de copier cette inscription; car peut-être est-elle encore du temps des Hamjâriens, et peut-être pourrait-elle encore servir à donner, dans la suite, *plus de jour à découvrir l'alphabet de cette nation.* Les Juifs même de Saná croyent avoir encore vu *d'autres inscriptions inconnues,* à *Nakil Asser,* au S. O. de Saná." — C. Niebuhr, Voy. en Arab. tome i. pp. 318. 325.

What was but probable in Niebuhr's day, is certain in our own: the inscriptions here indicated, and no doubt still in being, are unquestionably Hamyaritic. It is much to be regretted that Messrs. Cruttenden and Hulton, who, on their journey from Mokhha to Sanaa, passed close by Hoddafa, were unaware of the existence of the inscription represented, by the joint testimony of the Jews and the Mahometans, as in being

there in 1760, carved on an ancient wall. As our naval officers, and other extemporary travellers in Southern Arabia, cannot be supposed acquainted with all the sources of information, and, if they were, could not possibly obtain them in a portable form, I would venture (now that both the existence and the high interest of its Hamyaritic remains are ascertained) to suggest the publication, in a small pocket volume, of whatever information we as yet possess on the subject of inscriptions in Hamyaritic characters, known, or alleged, to be recoverable there. This manual might usefully include other topics of inquiry: but its object should be to facilitate the recovery of inscriptions.

Our information on the subject is still scanty: but it is on the increase. The researches of the ill-fated Seetzen (of the results of which a pretty full account is given by Professor Roediger, "Versuch," pp. 6 . . . 12.) after inscriptions in Yemen, have revived, without satisfying, the public interest, originally awakened by the report of respectable native authorities to Niebuhr.—Hoddafa, with its inscription on an ancient wall, he failed to discover. But he visited the site of the Yemenite Dhafar, where he found three inscriptions. One of these he purchased; another he copied; but the third, on the wall of a house, was placed at a height to which his eye would not carry. Niebuhr, therefore, was misinformed as to the houses of Dhafar having altogether disappeared. At the village of Mankat, within a league of Dhafar, he discovered no fewer than five inscriptions, built into the outer wall of the village mosque. Of these, two only were transcribed, the remaining three being, like one of those at Dhafar, placed above the reach of his eye. Unfortunately, the inscriptions within reach appear to have been the least important, and were all in a very imperfect state: while the copies were made so hastily, owing to the difficulties of his situation, as to put accuracy out of the question. The un-

copied inscriptions at Mankat, Seetzen describes as executed on white marble, with a skill and care hitherto met with in Greek and Roman inscriptions only. One of them he pronounces "the largest and most beautiful that he saw." The harvest, if any, must be sought, therefore, in the gleanings left behind. One lesson we learn from the failure of this enterprizing traveller, that good glasses, and, if possible, a light rope-ladder, should form part of the equipment of the searcher after inscriptions.

The discoveries of Messrs. Cruttenden and Hulton at Sanaa (where both Niebuhr and Seetzen had searched and inquired in vain), together with the information which they obtained respecting the existence of inscriptional remains at Mâreb, leave no room to doubt that much still remains to reward diligent inquiry in Yemen. But Hadramáut is the main field. There, the ruins of the famous Dhafar, the capital of the Homerite kings, lie still unexplored; the neighbourhoods of Sihown, of Gebel Hummoom, and of both the Mesenaats, are marked, in Captain Haines' Chart and Journal, as the ascertained sites of inscriptions, which, in some of these localities, are described as "numerous," and as "similar to those at Hussan Ghoráb;" while, although more than one of these sites had been visited by officers of the Palinurus, no copies of the inscriptions appear to have been taken.

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